

ABSTRACT

WILLIAMS, NZINGHA. *History Doesn't Decided for Us: A Case Study of Black Parents and their Perception of Career and Technical Education With an In-depth Look at the Philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois.* (Under the direction of Michelle Bartlett, Ph.D.).

This research was a three-article dissertation with two integrative literature reviews and one case study that examines the perception of career and technical education (CTE) among Black American communities with an in-depth look at the philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois. There is a tremendous skills gap in the nation and an increasing economic mobility problem. If more students—for the purpose of this research, Black students—take advantage of CTE at the K–12 and postsecondary level, there is a greater opportunity to move the needle of economic mobility. If there is acknowledgment of the history of career and technical education among Black Americans, a better approach for recruiting Black students to participate in CTE may be realized.

The theoretical frameworks shaping this study were critical race theory (CRT) and human capital theory (HCT). CRT submits that race, racism, and power influence how Black Americans value education. HCT suggests that obtaining more education increases productivity and earnings, concluding that education is an investment. Three research questions guided these studies: (1) How has the philosophy of Booker T. Washington influenced Black American communities' perception of CTE by existing literature? (2) How has the philosophy of W.E.B Du Bois influenced Black American communities' perception of CTE by existing literature? (3) How do parents in the 21st century view CTE as a path to economic success in the Black American community?

The findings from these manuscripts add a different perspective to the philosophies espoused by Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. The findings also share the perception of CTE among Black parents as it relates to economic success for their children. The literature

revealed Washington and Du Bois were more similar than different and their discord seemed more of a political difference rather than the course of education Black Americans should pursue. The results of this case study indicate a need for an intentional approach to educating Black parents on the career paths to economic success through career and technical education.

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History Doesn't Decided for Us: A Case Study of Black Parents and their Perception of Career and Technical Education with an In-depth Look at the Philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois

by
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DEDICATION

“If we stand tall it is because we stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before us” – African Proverb

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandparents, Wheeler and Thelma Tucker. Both were born in raised in the South but migrated to New York to raise their four children. My grandfather, raised in Alabama, and my grandmother, raised in Virginia, worked hard to establish a foundation that is the reason I am where I am today. I stand on their work for the Tucker family in making sure their children were set up for success. It is because of them I am able to walk with my head high and have the confidence to pursue my dreams. Their lessons and presence are felt and remind me of the legacy I come from.

I also dedicate this work to my mother. She continued the legacy of my grandparents by making sure I knew my history. She also made sure my foundation was strengthened through faith encouraging me to have a relationship with Jesus Christ. Her hard work of raising me does not go unnoticed. I truly had a praying mother, who not only carried me in her womb but carried me in the Spirit. She spoke life and the promises of God over me. I would not be here without her.

Finally, I saved the best for last. I dedicate this work to my husband. Thank you for doing your part to make sure I had space to accomplish my goals. From cooking dinner to being a sounding board, you are the man of my dreams, and I thank God every day for placing you in my life. I love you and I am so happy to be doing life with you!

BIOGRAPHY

Nzingha started her career in higher education in 2013 as an office assistant to the Basic Law Enforcement Training (BLET) Academy at Wake Technical Community College in Raleigh, North Carolina. As an officer assistant she enjoyed working with students and helping them make decisions about their training in law enforcement. In 2014, she moved to Charlotte, North Carolina to take a position at Central Piedmont Community College (CPCC), where she continued to work with students in the BLET Academy.

Since October of 2016, she has served as CTE Coordinator. In her role she serves as a liaison between Central Piedmont Community College, community partners, and K–12 CTE partners. Her role allows her to share the many opportunities that Central Piedmont has to offer and help students transition from secondary education to postsecondary education and the workforce. In 2021, she became the college's Perkins V (*Strengthening Career and Technical Education for the 21st Century Act*) coordinator. Her leadership with Perkins V helps guide the institution's direction with career and technical education. Nzingha has found her passion for career and technical education and understands how it can transform the lives of families. She truly understands the connection between education, workforce development, and economic mobility.

Nzingha holds a Bachelor's of Arts in Psychology and a Bachelor's of Arts in Criminology from North Carolina State University (NCSU). She also holds a Master's of Business Administration (MBA) with a concentration in Project Management from University of Phoenix. She is currently a doctoral candidate in Community College Leadership at North Carolina State University. Her dissertation title is *History Doesn't Decide for Us: A Case Study*

of Black Parents and their Perception of Career and Technical Education with an In-depth Look at the Philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois.

Nzingha is a member of the Association for Career and Technical Education (ACTE), 2019 Postsecondary Leadership Fellow for ECMC and ACTE, and a 2021 NCSU Research Fellow for ECMC and NCSU.

Nzingha is a proud wife to her husband Michael and mother to two fur babies, Roscoe (pug) and Bella (boxer mix). Her hobbies include traveling, dancing, singing, and spending time with family and friends. She is a focused and fun professional. Her passion is felt through conversation and expressed in her work.

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I would first like to acknowledge the God of the Bible. He has truly led and guided me throughout this entire process. His Holy Spirit has been a source of comfort, revelation, and strategy. I would not have been able to do this without Him. Throughout this process my go-to scripture has been, “Do not be anxious about anything, but in every situation, by prayer and petition, with thanksgiving, present your request to God. And the peace of God, which transcends all understanding, will guard your hearts and your minds in Jesus Christ” Philippians 4:6–7 (New International Version).

I would also like to acknowledge my village. These people are amazing! My village is made up of friends and family from all around the world. This also includes my colleagues from my cohort (Charlotte 2018) and in higher education. You all have been sounding boards and given me encouragement throughout this entire journey and I cannot thank you enough. Your prayers, check-ins, and conversations did not go unnoticed.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

There is a tremendous skills gap and economic mobility dilemma that all educational institutions and industries are trying to address (Chetty, Hendren, Kline, & Saez, 2014; Cole & Omari, 2003; Ferguson et al., 2011). Continued efforts are happening to help address the skills gap in the United States. Organizations like Advance CTE and others continue to release best practices, giving tools on ways to bridge this skills gap through career and technical education (CTE). In 2021, Advance CTE released *Without Limits: A Shared Vision for the Future of Career Technical Education*. The report shared five principles to assist in improving the ecosystem that could potentially address the skills gap (Advance CTE, 2021). This skills gap has led to individuals who are overeducated and underemployed, while high in-demand jobs remain open (Fleming, 2016). There also continues to be generations of students, educators, and parents who believe success, educationally and economically, only comes from obtaining a bachelor's degree or higher (Fleming, 2016). The disconnect between education and industry has challenged both spaces to develop new partnerships and strategies to address the shortage of labor for the job market. Decker (2021) found that the education and industry disconnect challenges partnerships by hiding the value in what skills students should learn in the classroom and how they translate those skills to the workforce. There is a great need for skills to connect to labor market needs and great potential economic gain. For the Black community this need is greater as Black Americans “have viewed education as the most respected and most effective mechanism for accomplishing the goal of upward mobility, the achievement of which challenges race and class based oppression” (Cole & Omari, 2003, p. 790).

College For All

Within the past decade, there has been a major push to quiet the “college for all” (Fleming, 2016, p. xx) mantra and encourage students to take advantage of promising in-demand, high skilled jobs (Schwartz, 2016). This change in thought process is new and challenging for many individuals because of the old ways of vocational education versus the new CTE model. In the 1950s and 1960s *vocational education* was used as a tracking system, predetermining a student’s life based a student’s placement on a specific track. The vocational education track was filled by many Black and Latino students, causing parents to view vocational education with deep suspicion and fear that it would limit their students’ opportunities in the world (Schwartz, 2016). The history of tracking in education and increased economic gap continues to limit the acceptance of the evolution of CTE among Black parents and students (Schwartz, 2016), leading to three important, yet lacking, concerns for many Black families: (a) economic and socioeconomic impact, (b) increased career opportunities, and (c) increased skills gap between Black Americans and industry.

Career and Tech as a Bridge for Economic Mobility

In 2014, Raj Chetty and colleagues from Harvard University and UC-Berkeley conducted a study that revealed 70% of poor children remain poor into adulthood (Chetty , Hendren, Kline, & Saez, 2014). This study focused on the intergenerational mobility within the United States suggesting that low economic mobility areas have several predictors: (a) lack of family structure, (b) racial and economic segregation, (c) poor school quality, (d) lack of social capital, and (e) less income equality (Chetty, Hendren, Kline, & Saez, 2014). Many of the cities that performed low in economic mobility were heavily populated with people of color, particularly Black and

Brown Americans (Chetty, Hendren, Kline, & Saez, 2014). This created a sense of curiosity as efforts are developed to bridge the gap between Black Americans, CTE, and economic mobility.

Community College as a Solution

The community college sheds light on a portion of the solution through CTE (Bailey et al., 2015; Fleming, 2016; Schwartz, 2016). CTE is an educational option that provides learners with the knowledge and skills they need to be prepared for college and careers. It gives purpose to learning by emphasizing real-world skills and practical knowledge within a selected career focus (Advance CTE, 2020a). High quality CTE programs can strengthen the talent pipeline from college to career by supporting a workforce that is prepared to meet the demands of the labor market.

According to a report from Advance CTE (2020c), 65% of jobs will require some training and education beyond a high school diploma, 35% will require at least a bachelor's degree, and 30% will require some college or an associate's degree). In addition, 15.4 million of the 48 million jobs will require an industry-certified credential in lieu of or in addition to a 4-year degree. This 30% of jobs are considered *middle skill* jobs and require very technical intellect; these jobs are often waiting for students after the completion of a CTE program (Advance CTE, 2020c; Carnevale et al., 2013). The predictions may have shifted with the recent economic downturn due to the COVID-19 pandemic, but the urgency for a skilled workforce has not changed. However, numerous research has shown that community colleges can assist in getting students on a career path aligned with the workforce (Blume et al., 2019).

Race and a Seat at the Table

In the 21st century, the debate continues over the method(s) of how students, particularly Black students, get a *seat at the table* or a chance at the *American Dream*, along with the stability

that comes with earning a livable wage (Fleming, 2016; Gordon, 2014). CTE strengthens the economy and has an impact on career success for the 21st century workforce (Ferguson et al., 2011; Fleming, 2016). It is possible that the Black community has limited its access to 21st century skills, high in-demand careers, and livable wages because of a lack of trust and understanding about CTE (Cole & Omari, 2003; Gordon, 2014; Schwartz, 2016).

Chapter Overview

This chapter contains a description of the problem this study attempted to address through research. The chapter includes the purpose of this study and the research questions. Using critical race theory (CRT) and human capital theory (HCT), this study was undertaken to examine how the ideologies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois have shaped the perception of CTE among Black Americans. Lastly, this chapter contains the significance of the study and a definition of terms used throughout the research.

Statement of the Problem

For years, the Black community has dealt with the economic impact of segregation (Anderson, 1994; Assari, 2018; Berger, 2018). This force has led to a lack of generational wealth and a large economic divide between Black Americans and other ethnic groups (Anderson, 1994; Assari, 2018; Berger, 2018). Several studies on the topic of economic mobility and the skills gaps have shed light on the need to expose Black Americans to careers that will create generational wealth (Anderson, 1994; Assari, 2018; Berger, 2018; Cole & Omari, 2003; Collins & Wanamaker, 2017; Dennis & Hudson, 2007; Feagin & St. Jean, 1998; Hughes & Thomas, 1998). The stigma of CTE and the perception of community college hinder students from taking advantage of all that community colleges have to offer (Ferguson et al., 2011; Fleming, 2016; Kandalec, 2016; Schwartz, 2016;). Throughout the K–12 pipeline students are told to go to

college and get a 4-year degree because that is the path to starting a career. Little importance is placed on the need to think about what career options students have and how CTE can help them get to their goal. Many people still view CTE as vocational training and view community college as a place people go to if they did not make good grades or have no other options (Cole & Omari, 2003; Ferguson et al., 2011; Fleming, 2016; Kandalec, 2016; Schwartz, 2016). If more students took advantage of CTE at the postsecondary level, a greater opportunity to move the needle of economic mobility and close the skills gap would exist (Jacobson & Mokher, 2009).

An even smaller pipeline of Black American students take advantage of what CTE could provide for them economically and in terms of career advancement. Although there is plenty of research showing the demand in the job market for particular skills, many Black American students do not take advantage of these opportunities. This lack of participation in CTE can be traced back to the philosophies of Booker T. Washington, an author, educator, orator and leader; and W.E.B. Du Bois, a sociologist, historian, civil rights activist, and author (Gordon, 2014; Johnson & Watson, 2004). Both authors contributed greatly to the 19th and 20th century for the advancement of Black Americans, but held two very different perspectives of how Black Americans could gain equality after slavery ended.

The philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois have very distinct differences. Washington believed an educated person is one that possesses (a) both cognitive and problem solving skills, (b) self-discipline, (c) moral standards, and (d) a sense of service (Dennis & Hudson, 2007; Manning, 2021; Norrell, 2008). He believed that true learning is more than memorization, but rather, application. Washington's philosophy paved the way for the largely acclaimed debate with Du Bois after Washington's speech entitled *The Atlanta Compromise* (Blatty, 2021; Dennis & Hudson, 2007; Johnson & Watson, 2004; Washington, 1895).

Washington advocated for taking what was immediately available after slavery: industrial education in a segregated setting. Du Bois believed that equality required developing a highly educated Black American leadership, a Talented Tenth on intellectual, social, and political par with White Americans. He felt that success for Black Americans would come through the development of brain capabilities, allowing them to be competitive at the managerial or executive levels (Dennis & Hudson, 2007; Norrell, 2008; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017).

In the 21st century of education, the dichotomy of these arguments still resonate in the Black American community. For members of the middle class, CTE continues to be seen as a less than option; it is something for someone else's child (Dennis & Hudson, 2007; Gordon, 2014). Although there are other barriers that prevent Black Americans from pursuing CTE, perceptions appear to be a large hurdle that prevent Black American students from pursuing these programs (Gordon, 2014). This perception limits their choices to programs of study that may not lend themselves to the needs or desires of the labor market. This lack of attention from Black Americans to CTE could be contributing to the college debt crisis and only widening the economic gap between White Americans and Black Americans (Dennis & Hudson, 2007; Ferguson et al., 2011; Fleming, 2016).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine how the ideologies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois affected the way Black Americans perceive CTE. This research focused on Black American parents [key influencers] with students between the age of 16–24. The study examined parents' knowledge of the great debate between Washington and Du Bois. The research included a case study to examine the impact of either of these ideologies and whether the ideologies affects parents' perception of CTE (Harlan, 1974; Du Bois, 1903). This study

sought to bring awareness to the perception of CTE from an underserved population and also provide insight for recruiting this population toward CTE. Three articles were written to attempt to answer three research questions The research questions sought to expose if and how the ideologies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois affected the way Black Americans perceive CTE. The research questions were:

1. How has the philosophy of Booker T. Washington influenced Black American communities' perception of CTE by existing literature?
2. How has the philosophy of W.E.B. Du Bois influenced Black American communities' perception of CTE by existing literature?
3. How do parents in the 21st century view CTE as a path to economic success in the Black American community?

Theoretical Framework

CRT started around the 1970s by several lawyers, activists, and legal scholars across the country. Some of the early scholars of CRT include Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman, and Richard Delgado. Unlike other theories, the founders of CRT defined it as a movement formed in order to examine and transform the relationship among race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). CRT provided a good foundation for this study because race, racism, and power have shaped how Black Americans perceive and value education. The debate between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois was heavily influenced by the racist climate during that time and understanding their influence around education is important to the participation of Black Americans in CTE (Du Bois, 1903/1995, 1935/1998; Moore, 2003; Washington, 1901/2001).

HCT was developed during the 1950s by Theodore Schultz and Gary Becker; both who were academics at the Chicago School of Economics (Tan, 2014). During those years the term

human capital was criticized because of its negative connotations towards slavery. The theory was founded to examine the productive wealth that is added to individuals based on labor, skills, and knowledge. HCT suggests that “education increases the productivity and earnings of individuals; therefore, education is an investment. In fact, this investment is not only crucial for individuals but it is also the key to the economic growth of a country” (Tan, 2014, p. 412). This theory provides a good foundation for this study because CTE can be viewed as a pathway to economic success. Understanding whether individuals perceive CTE as an investment to a good job is crucial to dismantling the stigma.

Conceptual Framework

This conceptual framework hypothesizes that the philosophies of W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington consciously or subconsciously affects parents’ perception of CTE as a pathway to economic success. The researcher based her assumptions with the use of HCT and CRT. Human Capital Theory mainly encompassing the philosophy of Booker T. Washington and his avocation for CTE as a method of economic freedom for the formerly enslaved. CRT supported W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington to explain the cultural and systemic influence of their philosophies towards CTE. Figure 1 helps the researcher shape these philosophies as potential influences on parents in the 21st century.

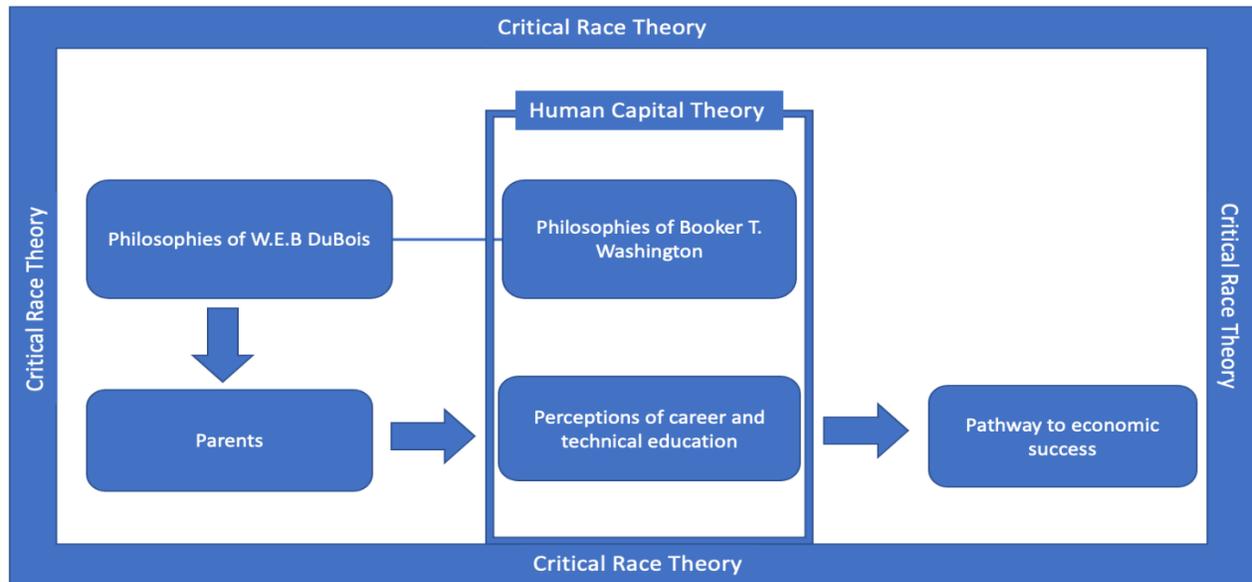
Figure 1*Conceptual Framework*

Figure 1.1 is a visual of the conceptual framework for this study. This framework grounds the study within the theoretical frameworks presented throughout this study with the intersection of the philosophies of Booker. T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. This conceptual framework helps to center the theories as tools to frame race, power, culture, and labor (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Tan, 2014) as influences in the perceptions of CTE among parents. These theories also assist in intertwining history as an important layer when explaining Blackness in the 19th century to the 21st century.

Significance of the Study

The findings from this study will help practitioners understand how these two philosophies have impacted the perception of CTE among Black American parents. This is important to future research of how we communicate with this population of parents and attempt to diversify the industry. Understanding the teachings of the community and the overall mindset

of this population will give postsecondary administrators tools that help with marketing and programming for CTE regarding the Black American parent's influence on students' decisions. The implications of this study could provide positive results around buy-in from the community regarding technical degrees and the impact on the local economy. It could also increase the number of Black American students participating in the CTE programs of study and pathways at the postsecondary level.

This study may also allow for further conversation to embrace the philosophies of both Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois as a way to achieve economic success for members of the Black American community. These philosophies have been the pillars for educational forming and execution in the Black community (Johnson & Watson, 2004). Both Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois were pillars in developing current existing structures, like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Tuskegee Institute (Johnson & Watson, 2004; Moore, 2003). Thus, contributing to the conscious and unconscious development of what equals success to the Black American community. Understanding the teachings of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois provides postsecondary practitioners insight into many viewpoints. Thus, providing deeper context to an internal conversation about CTE and economic success.

Limitations/Delimitations

A large limitation of this study was COVID-19. Due to safety concerns all interviews were conducted in an online format, which compromised the level of observation that could have happened within a case study. The research on this study is only focused on Black American parents with children between the ages of 16–24. This specific age group limits understanding of the lived reality of black parents from other ages. While the specific age range is necessary for

the success and execution of the study; it will not account for the diversity of thought within the Black community.

In addition, this study chose to limit the scope of history; which is also referred to as a delimitation. The study examined the perception of CTE in relation to Booker T. Washington's and W.E.B. Du Bois' philosophies. This study does not take into consideration other Black stakeholders that were influential alongside Washington and Du Bois. Acknowledging the work of these two men are important to this study; however, there are other Black viewpoints not taken into account. This chosen exclusion was intentional because the focus was on CTE and the relationship between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois.

Definition of Terms

The following terms have been defined for the purpose of this study:

Career and Technical Education (CTE). CTE is an educational option providing learners with knowledge, experiences and skills needed for college and career. CTE provides context for learning with hands-on and real-world experiences within a career focus. CTE programs provide rigorous programs of study at the secondary and postsecondary level aligning with high-skill, high-wage and in demand career opportunities (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

Career Academy. A career academy is a stand-alone or school-within-a-school that provides preparatory curriculum in context of a career theme (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

Career Advisement/Guidance. Career advisement/guidance is a comprehensive, development approach designed to assist individuals in making and implementing informed education occupational choices (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

Career Clusters. Career clusters is a framework developed including 16 career clusters and 79 career pathways that together represent the entire world of work (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

Career Pathway. The term career pathways has multiple definitions. The definition chosen for this study is the grouping of knowledge and skills (programs of study) shared by related professions (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act of 2006. The *Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act of 2006* is referred to as Perkins IV and replaced by *Strengthening Career and Technical Education Act of 2018* (Perkins V). This act developed more fully the academic career, career and technical skills of secondary and postsecondary students who enroll in CTE programs (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

CTE Concentrator. Two terms encompass the CTE concentrator: *postsecondary*—a student who earns 12 credits in a single CTE program or program of study or completes a CTE program if that CTE program encompasses fewer than 12 credits; and *secondary*—a student who completes at least two courses in a single CTE program (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

Articulation Agreement. Articulation agreements are formal agreements created between public school districts and postsecondary institutions to align high school and postsecondary curricula to create sequences of courses without unnecessary duplication to support earning credit (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

Employability Skills. Employability skills are the compilation of knowledge, skills, and dispositions that make individuals more likely to gain to gain employment and be successful in their chosen occupations (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

Guided Pathways. Guided pathways is a model that aims to structure postsecondary programs and their curricula and courses in such a way that students are supported along their education path (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

High-Skill, High-Wage, In-Demand. High-skill, high-wage, and in-demand refers to careers that learners obtain after completing a high-quality CTE program or program of study. *High skill* refers to the technical and employability skills necessary for the careers that align with labor market needs. *In demand* refers to careers aligned with labor market needs. *High wage* refers to careers that provide individuals with a living wage that can be used to support themselves and their families (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

Industry Expert. An industry expert is an individual with substantial industry knowledge and experience, including both technical content knowledge and an understanding of how to navigate professional career growth in a specific industry and of the knowledge, skills and abilities necessary to effectively support students (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

Labor Market Information (LMI). LMI is data and information used by businesses, workers, learners, job seekers, education and training providers, and others to make informed decisions in areas such as hiring and advancement, career choice, curriculum development and investments in training (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

Office of Career, Technical, and Adult Education (OCTAE). OCTAE within the US Department of Education administers and coordinates programs that are related to adult education literacy, CTE, and community college (Advance CTE, 2018).

Program of Study. A program of study is a coordinated, nonduplicative sequence of academic and technical content at the secondary and postsecondary level that incorporate challenging, state-identified academic standards; address academic and technical knowledge

aligned with industry needs in the state, region, tribal community, or local area; has multiple entry and exit points; and culminates in the attainment of recognized postsecondary credential (Advance CTE, 2018; Dortch, 2014).

Economic Mobility. Chetty, Hendren, Kline, and Saez (2014) identified economic mobility as the odds of a child from the bottom 20% reaching the top 20%.

Organization of Study

This dissertation is organized using a manuscript format. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the topic that includes a problem statement and research questions, a statement of purpose, overview of the theoretical framework, significance of study, delimitations, limitations, and definition of terms used in this dissertation. Chapter 2 covers the literature associated with the topic to make the case for the study. Included in the chapter are the history of CTE, discussion on CRT, HCT, and the philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois, along with discussion of literature around the perception of CTE. Chapters 3 through 5 are the manuscripts presented in this study. The title of the manuscript in Chapter 3 is “An Exploration of Booker T. Washington’s Ideals through Literature and its Impact on the Perception of Career and Technical Education among Black Parents in the 21st Century.” Chapter 4 includes the manuscript entitled, “An Exploration of W.E.B Du Bois’ Ideals through Literature and its Impact on the Perception of Career and Technical Education among Black Parents in the 21st Century.” Chapter 5 presents the manuscript entitled, “A In-depth Look at Career and Technical Education through the Lenses of 21st Century Parents and its Intersectionality with the Philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois.” Finally, Chapter 6 includes a summary of the research found in the three manuscripts and an outline of the implications for policy and practice, and recommendation for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This literature review begins with a review of literature on the history of CTE; the concept and purpose of CTE. In the second section, the ideologies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois are reviewed. The third section reviews human capital and CRT. These theories provide a grounding in the benefit of the right human connection for economic gain; along with the intersectionality of race in America. The fourth section, reviews case study and the beauty of getting the stories of black people so they can be understood and review of accepted ideologies. Finally, the researcher will synthesize these themes identified in the literature and make a case for moving forward with the study.

History of Career and Technical Education

CTE has a long history in the United States dating back to the early 20th century when influential philosophers David Snedden, John Dewey, and Charles Prosser sought to define liberal and vocational education in schools (Gordon, 2014; Wang, 2010; Wonacott, 2003). Each of these philosophers attempted to define and shape what the intentions were behind vocational training and the need for workforce application taught in public schools. Prosser developed the 16 theories of vocational training which lead to the creation of comparative points between general and vocational education (Gordon, 2014; Wang, 2010; Wonacott, 2003). Some of these differences are worth noting as the stigma of CTE has caused for the purpose to be lost. Some of the differences between vocational and liberal studies contributes to factors like the “scope of study”—liberal studies (limited) and vocation (serve all groups, all ages) or “standards”—liberal studies (academic) and vocation (occupational; Wonacott, 2003).

Smith-Hughes Act of 1917

The *Smith-Hughes Act of 1917* signaled the beginning of federal influence in the molding around vocational training in the secondary and postsecondary arenas. This legislation was in response to the societal, economic and political influences. The act was an answer to the needs of industry and those students who did not know what to choose in the liberal education track; thus perpetrating a divide between liberal education and vocational education (Wonacott, 2003). It addressed the socio-economic conversation that was starting because the working class was becoming part of the traditional school system but may or may not have had the desire to go the traditional track. The *Smith-Hughes Act* (2017) led to the creation of the Federal Board for Vocational Education and separate state boards (Wonacott, 2003). Each state had to develop a plan of action addressing the following: (a) “the federally aided program of vocational education would be under public supervision and control”; (b) “the controlling purpose would be to fit students for useful employment”; (c) “vocational education would be less than college grade and designed to meet the needs of persons over 14 years of age who had entered or who were preparing to enter the occupation for which they were receiving training”; and (d) “the state or local community would provide the necessary plant and equipment” (Wonacott, 2003, pg. 8). It is important to note that the Smith Hughes Act was established with separate governing structures, boards, teacher preparation, resources and more (Wonacott, 2003).

Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Technical Education Act of 1984

The repeal of the *Smith-Hughes Act of 1917* led to the passage of the *Vocational Education Act of 1963*, which was renamed in 1984 when Congress passed the *Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education and Applied Technology Act*. The *Smith-Hughes Act* was a great start to the conversation and assisted in getting federal funding supporting vocational education but the

Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education and Applied Technology Act of 1984 is the foundation of all Perkins legislation in the 21st century (Wonacott, 2003). This act contained two main objectives (1) the improvement of vocational programs and (2) better services and increased access to vocational education for students with special needs (Wonacott, 2003).

Throughout the 90s the act received several amendments in attempts to show the federal commitment in improving vocational training. The *Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act Amendments of 1990* (Perkins II) and *Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act Amendments of 1998* (Perkins III) called for concentrating resources developing the competencies needed to work in a technologically advanced society; with tech programs specifically funded (Wonacott, 2003). Perkins III also required states to provide data on four core indicators of performance, holding states more accountable for the amount of resources obtained through federal funding. These four indicators included (a) attainment of academic and vocational/technical proficiencies; (b) attainment of a secondary degree or General Educational Development certificate, proficiency credential in conjunction with a secondary diploma, and a postsecondary degree or credential; (c) placement in, retention in, and completion of postsecondary education or advanced training, placement in military service of placement or retention in employment; and (d) participation in and completion of programs that lead to nontraditional training and employment (Wonacott, 2003).

Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act of 2006

The *Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act of 2006* (Perkins IV) revised the *Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Technical Education Act Amendments of 1998* and renamed the act adding the terminology CTE (Dortch, 2012). The revision supports the development of academic and career and technical skills among secondary and postsecondary education. The

reauthorization of Perkins IV was expected to “usher in a new era of rigorous, relevant, and results-driven CTE shaped by four core principles (Dortch, 2012): (a) more effective alignment of CTE programs with labor market needs and high-growth industry sectors, in particular; (b) stronger collaboration among secondary and postsecondary institutions, employers, and industry partners in an effort to improve the quality of CTE programs; (c) a meaningful accountability system based upon common definitions and clear metrics for performance; and (d) increased innovation supported through systemic reform of state policies and practices (Dortch, 2012, p. 1).

Perkins IV concentrated on the labor market needs and skills gaps that were needed for employers (Dortch, 2012). It encouraged education and industry to collaborate on curriculum development with an emphasis in training students with the hard and soft skills needed to make it in the workforce. These collaborations forced institutions to examine the career pathways they were providing to students at the secondary and postsecondary level, making sure students gained the tools necessary to

prepare for further education and careers in current or emerging professions; provide technical skill proficiency, an industry recognized credential, a certificate, or an associate degree and include competency-based applied learning that contributes to the academic knowledge, higher-order reasoning and problem-solving skills, work attitudes, general employability skills, technical skills, and occupation-specific skills. (Dortch, 2012, p. 4)

Strengthening Career and Technical Education for the 21st Century Act

Finally, the premise of CTE has caught up to the 21st century student. The reauthorization of the *Strengthening Career and Technical Education for the 21st Century Act* (Perkins V; 2018) revised the *Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act of 2006*

(Perkins IV), making significant changes to the definition of CTE. The new definition specifies that content must be aligned with the *Every Student Succeeds Act* (ESSA, 2015) for secondary education and with rigorous academic standards in postsecondary education (Advance CTE, 2018; Cushing et al., 2019). There is much emphasis on “in-demand” industry sectors and occupations aligning with the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA) terms recognized for postsecondary credentials (Cushing et al., 2019). For purposes of funding it limits the list of industry recognized credentials to subbaccalaureate credentials. This act also references work-based learning (WBL), career exploration, and secondary-postsecondary connections (Advance CTE, 2018).

Other definitions were modified or terms were added to support the direction of collaboration for Perkins V. These terms included “credit transfer agreement”—focusing on dual enrollment or concurrent enrollment programs within the parameters of an articulation agreement. Other terms that are important is the focus on “program of study,” “special populations” and “work-based learning” (Advance CTE, 2018, pp. 4-5). The adoption of terminology for ESSA and WIOA to generate the adaptability of career pathways, English learners, and more; allows states to work hard at breaking down silos and share resources in a constructive manner (Advance CTE, 2018; Cushing et al., 2019).

Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois

Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois were great leaders in the Black American community. They were both pivotal in advocating and fighting for equality and access for Black Americans during the 19th and 20th century (Frontline, 1998). However, they did not both agree on how black people should gain access to freedom to generate economic success, access to education and more. Accordingly, when discussing perception of CTE in the Black community it

is necessary to examine the debate between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois (Moore, 2003). “The philosophy between Washington and Du Bois has historical roots. To be on the same side fighting for the same purpose, progress, and uplifting of the Black race, these two Black intellectuals harbored radically divergent views on how to assist Black Americans to free themselves from their often subhuman conditions” (Johnson & Watson, 2004, p. 65).

In 1856, Booker T. Washington was born in Virginia; the actual date of his birth is unknown (Moore, 2003). Born a slave, Booker T. Washington believed that industrial education and trade like work was the pathway to true independence and economic mobility (Gordon, 2014; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017). Washington believed that a scholar was someone who mastered application from the classroom to the world (Gordon, 2014). These beliefs shaped his view of the liberal studies promoted by Du Bois and gave a voice to the devotion to the advancement of Black Americans. More importantly, the work of Washington led to him contributing to the educational institutions by being the founder of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in 1881 (Gordon, 2014; Johnson & Watson, 2004; Moore, 2003). Many have viewed Washington as a “sell-out” to the “white-man”. Believing that his push and devotion to domestic and trade skills appeased to the form of education that White society sought for Black people (Johnson & Watson, 2004).

February 23- 1868, W.E.B. Du Bois was born in Massachusetts. Unlike Washington Du Bois was not born a slave and had the privilege of knowing his birth date (Moore, 2003). Du Bois believed in the advancement of the Black American community though liberal education and obtaining a status level to influence the decision making in government (Gordon, 2014). His conviction for political action and civil rights led to the founding of the NAACP, in 1909, and he cultivated the idea that social change could be accomplished by what he referred to as the

Talented Tenth (Frontline, 1998; Moore, 2003). Du Bois was determined to help lift the Black American community out of poverty and was attentive to the role that the Talented Tenth [black professional class] could contribute to the economic freedom of the Black American community (Johnson & Watson, 2004). Johnson and Watson (2004) describe the Du Bois' research and the Talented Tenth as the following:

His work focused on four social classes within the city of Philadelphia. The top 10% he called an upper class or aristocracy. These people included entrepreneurs and professional people. These people have decent jobs and their children attended the best schools. Group two was a respectable working class. These individuals were primarily made up of servants, waiters, porters, and laborers. This was a class that was eager to engage in upward mobility. The third group of Black Americans was referred to as the poor. It was made up of recent immigrants, who could not find work, unreliable persons, widows, and wives of broken families. The lowest class (about 6% of the Black population) was labeled as criminals. (p. 68)

Through this research Du Bois determined that the Talented Tenth was the way to advance Black Americans because they could give intellectual guidance from the best and brightest of the Black race (Johnson & Watson, 2004). This research establishes the classism seen among both White and Black Americans but giving it a title within the Black community, would influence, currently unquantifiable, the perception and attitudes of Blacks towards CTE (Gordon, 2014; Johnson & Watson, 2004).

The polarization of both arguments continue to impact the Black community today when deciding whether to participate in CTE or viewing it as a pathway of economic mobility. CTE among minority groups, specifically Black communities, is viewed as inferior to the traditional

college education (Gordon, 2014). It is important to understand that both views were correct in assessing how members of the Black community advance economically in this country. As there is continued desire for diversity, equity, and inclusion in CTE programs and the workforce, a better understanding of the debate between W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington could better inform marketing to Black communities and encourage them to participate in CTE (Gordon, 2014).

Human Capital Theory and Critical Race Theory

Human capital theory (HCT) was introduced in the 1950s, through the lens of economics but over the years has expanded to other sectors such as sociology or education (Sahota, 1975). HCT examines the produced wealth that is correlated to labor, skills, and knowledge (Tan, 2014). This theory views education as an investment into oneself and to society. Developed by Theodore W. Schultz, this theory pushed the imagination and limits of economists and policy makers at the time (Olaniyan & Okemakinde, 2008). It challenged the conservative ideas pertaining to people and the skills and knowledge they bring to the labor. It concluded that people (humans) investing in themselves can expand their choices and “it is one way free men can enhance their welfare” (Schultz, 1961, p. 2). It is important to remember that this theory was developed during a time where the value of education was being questioned because of industrialization. Many people have criticized the theory because of the history of slavery and others have criticized because it was rooted in methodological individualism and rational choice theory (Sahota, 1975; Tan, 2014).

Critical race theory (CRT; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017) is a theoretical framework that gives a scientific backing to race still mattering when conducting research and telling stories. This theory is a collection of activists and scholars studying race to “transform the relationship

among race, racism, and power” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 3). CRT began its start in legal studies and was founded by several members that used it to legally dismantle the systemic issues plaguing America. These members included Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman, and Richard Delgado. Since its inception, CRT has spun off into other sectors such as education and social work, addressing topics such as school discipline, tracking, affirmative action and much more (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

CRT has several basic tenets: (a) racism is ordinary, not unnatural; (b) racism advances both white elites (materially) and working-class whites (psychically); (c) race is a social construct to explain what they cannot understand or choose to ignore; (d) dominant society racializes different minority groups based on the shift in needs at that time; (e) intersectionality; and lastly (f) that the minority status allows the presumed ability to speak about race and racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 11). Not all scholars and activists adhere to all basic tenets but for the sake of this study, the researcher will attempt to synthesize all basic tenets throughout the research. CRT challenges its readers and researchers to not objectify race but view it as an ideological construct to better understand its problematic impact on society.

Phenomenon of Blackness in America

Providing the experience and stories of a specific group gives perspective for blackness in America through the lens of CTE. The experiences of Black people are different but provide insight for decision-making in a space that is constantly asking for diversity in thought and action related to education. A case study provides a thick description to continue to uncover the phenomenon of the intersection of blackness, education, and racism in America (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Yazan, 2015). According to Merriam, conducting a heuristic and descriptive case study is an intensive and holistic way to understand social units, institutions, etc. (Creswell &

Poth, 2018; Yazan, 2015). It is important to understand the meanings of individuals' lives and how these meanings influence the choices they make (Flood, 2010). Given this understanding of case study and what it can add to the field of education, the researcher appreciates that conducting a case study will provide depth to education, specifically CTE. Black people face many challenges in their advancement through education and economic mobility (Fletcher, 2014; Ross & Svajlenka, 2016).

Collectively understanding the Black experience with the history of Black people in America, is crucial to understanding the perception of Black people towards CTE, also known as vocational education. Thus the case study lends itself to take into account history, the researcher, and Black parents. Merriam (2002) stated,

Learning how individuals experience and interact with their social world, the meaning it has for them ... drawing from social theory, you might investigate how the social and political aspects of the situation shape the reality; that is, how larger contextual factors affect the ways in which individuals construct reality. (p. 4).

Thus, understanding the history of a phenomenon gives context to the decisions and thought processes in their everyday life. Also, providing space for the researcher to set aside their bias and review the data with what Husserl (1970) describes as an understanding of essence, pure consciousness and pure ego (p.862).

Chapter Summary

Black people in America have a long traumatizing history with education and the methods used to prevent Black people from getting an education. The literature presented in this review examines the history of CTE, the history of Black leaders, and provides and links the theoretical framework to the conceptual framework. The researcher examined how HCT and

CRT explain the nuances of being Black in America. The researcher attempted to make the case that while racist acts exist for Black people, it benefits the group to take advantage of CTE for human capital gain such as economic mobility. However, it is necessary that Black Americans examine the messages from leaders of the past. These leaders' words and teachings could still impact how we think, and the decisions we make, not consciously realizing that the ideologies we are holding on to, do not meet the 21st century world or the 21st century labor market. Finally, a peek into why the Black voice is needed was provided to explore the reason Black people may not participate in CTE.

Chapter 3: An Exploration of Booker T. Washington's Ideals through Literature and its Impact on the Perception of Career and Technical Education among Black Parents in the 21st Century

Introduction

The importance of CTE has been highlighted over the last decade (Ferguson et al., 2011; Fleming, 2016; Policy Leadership Trust, 2022). A lot of literature has been written that expresses the value of college and career readiness in connection with the *American Dream* (Chetty, Hendren, Kline, Saez, & Turner, 2014; Ferguson et al., 2011; Schwartz, 2016). Over the past years, there have been countless scholars advocating for the end of the *college for all* mantra and the need for more quality CTE at the secondary and postsecondary levels to give people a living wage and a good job (Davidson et al., 2019; Ferguson et al., 2011; Fleming, 2016). Business and industry have been working hard to fill the philanthropic space to close the skills gap and provide equitable access to people of color (Advance CTE, 2021; Ferguson et al., 2011). These efforts have prompted many discussions about postsecondary education and the need for career training that helps student; especially students of color, reach the “American dream”.

American Dream

The American dream and the fight for equality in education, housing, the workforce, and society is the plight of every Black American. Since the end of slavery and the Civil War, Black people have been diligently working to gain access to a *seat at the table*, using education as the vehicle for White Americans to see them as equal (Schwartz, 2016). During the 19th and 20th century, several black leaders rose as pillars in shaping how Black Americans would navigate the new terrain of freedom. These leaders included innovative men like Booker T. Washington, who gave Black people hope and tools to make it in a world that was not originally designed with

them in mind. Washington also saw education as a means to be viewed as equal among White Americans, who saw Brown and Black people as property.

Booker T. Washington

Booker Taliaferro Washington was born a slave in 1856 in Virginia (Dennis & Hudson, 2007; Dunn, 1993; Johnson & Watson, 2004; Washington, 2001). In 1865, America abolished slavery, which freed slaves from the visible bondage of captivity, but there was still much work to be done to undo the harsh impact slavery had on Black Americans (Boston, 1997; Dagbovie, 2007; Lewis, 2014). Booker T. Washington continued to sharecrop as well as work in mines to help his family transition from being slaves to being free under the law (Moore, 2003).

Washington attended Sunday School to start his education and his church community raised money for him to attend Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, in Hampton Virginia in 1872 (Moore, 2003). He attended Hampton Institute between 1872–1875 and it was here that his philosophy around industrial education was born, as a means to establish social and economic mobility for Black Americans (Moore, 2003).

In 1881, Washington established Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama (Frantz, 1997; Generals, 2000a, 2000b; Lewis, 2014). Tuskegee was established with Southern and Northern White philanthropic dollars in an effort to address what was known as the “Negro Question” (Moore, 2003, p.31). Despite its origin, the institution was known throughout the Northern and Southern states, as well as in the international arena, for helping many newly freed slaves get an education, own property, and advance socially (Gardner, 1975; Norrell, 2008). It was the work that Washington did through Tuskegee that laid the groundwork for what is known now as CTE, and for other educational philosophies espoused by philosophers like John Dewey and Charles Prosser (Generals, 2000a, 2000b; Lewis, 2014).

Along with the establishment of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Washington is known for his speech, “The Atlanta Compromise,” and his public rivalry with W.E.B Du Bois (Johnson & Watson, 2004; Moore, 2003; Norrell, 2008; Washington, 1895). It was during this speech that Washington laid out his philosophy around industrial education as a way for Black Americans to access social and economic mobility and to be seen as equal in the eyes of White Americans (Washington, 1895). Washington championed education that was of the “head, hand, and heart” (Washington, 1895, para. 5). Washington advocated for the type of education that would allow students to give directly back to their community as they engaged in the work (Generals, 2000b; Johnson & Watson, 2004). During his famous speech Washington (1895) made some powerful statements that encouraged White Americans to remember the work of Black Americans from slavery when hiring their workforce. Washington stated,

Cast down your buckets where you are. Cast it down among the eight million Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in the days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, built your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South.

(para. 5)

Overview of Literature Review

Understanding the philosophy of Black leaders like Booker T. Washington who set the foundation for how Black Americans view and perceive education as it relates to economic success in the Black community, is critical to the growth of CTE in the 21st century. The history of CTE among the bond slave to the newly freed slave, and now for the fully awakened Black

American, is necessary to examine as practitioners seek ways to diversify and distribute equity among the field of CTE. There are articles that examined the contributions of Booker T. Washington to the Black community and to education but not many researchers investigated how his philosophies impact the perception of CTE among Black parents in the 21st century. This literature review was conducted to examine Washington's philosophy of industrial education and how it is ideal for today's CTE. The literature review also examined the pros and cons of Washington's philosophy as it has been communicated through history and shaped perceptions. The literature review begins with an overview of the theoretical framework for this study.

Theoretical Framework

This section presents the theoretical frameworks that were used to guide this study. Critical race theory was chosen to ground the historical and cultural aspects of this study. Human capital theory was chosen to assist in explaining the economic value placed on an individual learning a skill.

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

CRT provided a lens from which to examine the influence of culture and education on Black American's pursuit of career and success. According to Ladson-Billings (1998), "CRT looks at how citizenship and race might interact. CRT's usefulness in understanding educational inequity is in its infancy" (p. 7). During Washington's era, race and obtaining citizenship were at the center of the method Booker T. Washington used to navigate the climate. His philosophy was shaped by how his race was viewed and he made decisions based on the systematic barriers that kept the former slave from gaining access to the normal properties of a freed man. It was during this time that systems were established with poor intentions and ill-thought-out consequences (Anderson, 1988; Brown, 2006; Dennis, 1998).

The education of the former slaves was funded by White men from the North and South with the intent of keeping the former slaves thinking they were still slaves (Dagbovie, 2007; Generals, 2000a, b; Johnson & Watson, 2004; Norrell, 2008). This was displayed in some of the questions White men asked. Their intent was also displayed in how they put value on the words of Black leaders at that time, often valuing the Black leader who said what they wanted to hear or was willing to conform to the norms (Johnson & Watson, 2004; Moore, 2003). One of the reasons Washington was valued by White Southerners was because he did not publicly advocate for a *seat at the table*. Washington (1895) declared,

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privilege that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing.

(Washington, 1895, para. 11)

Washington's political affiliation granted him access but also was the reason many former slaves could not support him in the end (Dagbovie, 2007; Johnson & Watson, 2004; Reynolds & Kendi, 2020).

The systems present during the 19th and 20th century still manifest in the 21st century as Black society navigates whether CTE is for the Black community. His philosophy is still debated as the popularity of CTE rises with the need to fill a workforce (Dennis & Hudson, 2007; Frontline, 1998; Gordon, 2014; Johnson & Watson, 2004; Moore, 2003; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017). Access to adequate education, specifically CTE, is part of understanding CRT and explaining how systems have made it challenging for Black Americans of the 21st century to see the value in participating in CTE (Norrell, 2008; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017).

Human Capital Theory (HCT)

This study used human capital theory to describe the connection between education and economic mobility. “Human capital theory emphasizes how education increases the productivity and efficiency of workers by increasing the level of cognitive stock of economically productive human capability which is a product of innate abilities and investment in human beings” (Olaniyan & Okemakinde, 2008,p. 479). Built into Washington’s philosophy was the value of education and how that value added social equality for the former slave. Washington believed that the values former slaves added were in the skills gained in slavery, which could be transferred and used to train the next generation and add value to earn equality postslavery. In his speech, Washington encouraged White Southerners to not outsource or pay anyone else for the work the former slave was already doing. Instead, Washington admonished them to invest in former slaves and pay them so they could become productive citizens (Washington, 1895, para.5).

Washington developed the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute to add direct capital value to the lives of former slaves and invest in the communities they served. Many of the buildings on Tuskegee’s campus are evident of HCT because students learned a skill and used that skill to build those buildings (Dagbovie, 2007; Generals, 2000a, b; Johnson & Watson, 2004). Washington even convinced White philanthropists from the North and South to invest in education that would correlate to a return on investment to society. Tuskegee was a displayed example of what HCT looked like in real time because many of the students became educators at other Black secondary schools and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Through Tuskegee, Washington was able to create an ecosystem for the Black workforce during the 19th and 20th centuries.

CTE, like the Tuskegee model, adds value to people and the workforce by training individuals for the jobs of today and the future (Boston, 1997; Dunn, 1993; Policy Leadership Trust, 2022). Returning to the principles of Washington's philosophy can help Black Americans realize economic gain and see a return on investment from education. The economy demands a workforce that is skilled in the industries of today and CTE provides opportunities for Black Americans to learn the skills that are most needed in today's workforce.

Method

This section will cover the goal of this literature review, along with the research question and subquestions used as a guide. The design of this literature review is also presented. The review goal and design for this study are intended to inform the trustworthiness of this integrative literature review.

The Review Goal

This review was conducted to inform the field of CTE about the impact Booker T. Washington had on the perception of CTE among Black parents. This review will bring attention to how Black Americans' history around education shaped Washington's philosophy and how his philosophy shaped how many Black Americans view CTE in the 21st century. The review examined literature focusing on Washington and his role in industrial education. The following research question guided this review:

1. How has the philosophy of Booker T. Washington influenced Black American communities' perception of CTE by existing literature?
 - a) What are the ideals of Booker T. Washington's pathway to success through CTE?
 - b) What can be found in the literature about the pros of Booker T. Washington's ideals of CTE?

- c) What can be found in the literature about the cons to Booker T. Washington's ideals of CTE?

Design

The design of this literature review was informed by Torraco's (2005) integrative literature review guidelines. The review begins by being broad enough to point to and discover a particular problem in the literature (Torraco, 2005). This problem is then synthesized to add to the field of CTE (Torraco, 2005, 2016; Whittemore, 2005). The literature in this review was examined to provide a better understanding of the impact of history on the Black experience as it relates to CTE. Specifically, this review took a hard look at Booker T. Washington's philosophies and the impact they have had on the Black community since the 19th century until now.

Data Collection Methods

This section will cover the search methods, search strategies, search outcomes, quality of literature, and literature outcomes. Data were collected by gathering literature, reviewing the literature, determining which literature should be kept based on criteria, and which literature would be discarded. Literature that met criteria was kept for data analysis.

Search Methods

A diverse group of literature was reviewed to understand Booker T. Washington's philosophies and the impact of those philosophies on past and present-day Black Americans. Upon examining the literature, the researcher reviewed the abstracts or introductions of each source included in the source gathering process (Pautasso, 2013; Torraco, 2005). Once the abstracts or introductions were reviewed the researcher was able to determine which literature to discard and which literature to keep for further reading. Due to the nature of this topic, the

researcher quickly realized there is little research around the topic. While there were some peer-reviewed articles, much of the literature came from authored books of scholars in the field seeking to explain the work of Booker T. Washington rather than the impact of his philosophies on CTE, from its origin of industrial education. The research questions were used as parameters for guiding the search for literature.

Search Strategies

Several databases were used to search for existing literature around the topic. These databases were broad to ensure that all journals were being searched for relevant literature. The databases used were JSTOR, ProQuest, and Google Scholar. There was also an alert system setup in Google Scholar with keywords to maintain awareness of current research being conducted on the topic. Keywords were used to search existing literature (Table 1). Relevant research articles and books were read in their entirety (Torraco, 2005, 2016). The researcher also reviewed the reference page of relevant articles to find additional literature. A running document was kept to track thoughts, ideas, interpretations, and other relevant information pertaining to the topic. A total of 994 pieces of literature were retrieved from electronic sources and by hand. The researcher discarded 969 pieces of literature; 25 pieces were read in their entirety and used to synthesize the findings in this literature review.

Table 1*Keywords Searched for in the Literature*

| Keyword | Number of Occurrences |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Booker T. Washington | 14 |
| career and technical education | 6 |
| community college | 1 |
| critical race theory | 0 |
| economic mobility | 3 |
| higher education | 1 |
| history | 1 |
| human capital theory | 0 |
| industrial education | 1 |
| John Dewey | 1 |
| liberal education | 1 |
| postsecondary education | 1 |
| progressive education | 1 |
| slavery | 1 |
| Talented Tenth | 1 |
| The Great Debate | 5 |
| The Atlanta Compromise | 2 |
| vocational education | 5 |
| W. E. B. Du Bois | 8 |
| workforce | 0 |

Search Outcomes

Many of the articles and books discovered in the search dated back 10 years or more. This research topic required reading much of Booker T. Washington's own writing to get an understanding of his philosophy, the origin of his philosophy, and how it was communicated during that time. There were relevant intersections between his work and other mature topics that gave perspective to that time period. The literature found was still relevant to many of the challenges met in CTE today, including the common themes that will be shared in this integrative literature review.

Quality of Literature

This review used all literature related to this research; this includes some of Washington's writings. Articles were valued based on their ability to add to this body of work. The diverse nature of these articles provides a spectrum of perspectives around the work of Booker T. Washington. The search indicated that many scholars have written about Booker T. Washington but also confirmed there is a need to revisit this topic.

Data Analysis

The researcher analyzed the data using the research questions as a guide throughout the review of the literature. The researcher kept a running document to using the research questions as a guide due to the large number of articles read for the review. The abstract of the articles was read first to see if the articles were applicable to the study. Retained articles were read in their entirety and key themes were identified using the research questions to help synthesize the findings. Codes were developed based on research questions and information found in the literature. A literature review matrix was used to track and code all of the literature that was relevant; an example to this matrix is found in Appendix A. Using words such as "ideals," "pros," and "cons," the researcher identified literature that answered the research questions. Once the codes were reviewed common themes were developed.

Synthesis of Literature

This literature review has a clear research agenda to synthesize the findings with the literature (Pautasso, 2013; Torraco, 2005, 2016; Webster & Watson, 2002). Torraco (2005) stated that "a research agenda should flow logically from the critical analysis of the literature, posing provocative questions that give direction for future research" (p. 363). The research questions were used as guiding principles to analyze the research and provide other probing

questions for research based on the findings. Literature was organized by research question and information was recorded that was relevant to that research question. All notes and thoughts were also reviewed through the lens of the research questions to maintain the integrity of this study. From this a series of themes emerged that uncovered Booker T. Washington's philosophy and its relevance to 21st century CTE, the pros of his philosophy, and the cons of his philosophy.

Findings

This section presents a detailed discussion of the findings of this integrative literature review. It is organized by research question and includes the themes related to the question. This integrative literature review was guided by one research question with three sub-questions. The findings are organized by the initial research question followed by a focus on each of the three subquestions. Table 2 shares the research questions and the associated themes found throughout this study to answer the research question. The table gives the reader a brief synopsis of what will be discussed in the corresponding sections.

Table 2*Research Question and Associated Themes*

| Research Question and Subquestions | Themes |
|--|---|
| Research Question: How has the philosophy of Booker T. Washington influenced Black American communities' perception of CTE by existing literature? | accommodationist, elitist, ownership, education, industrial education, and reconstruction era |
| Subquestion A: What are the ideals of Booker T. Washington's pathway to success through CTE? | social justice and economic freedom |
| Subquestion B: What can be found in the literature about the pros of Booker T. Washington's ideals for CTE? | contextualize learning and culturally relevant teaching |
| Subquestion C: What can be found in the literature about the cons to Booker T. Washington's ideals for CTE? | liberal education and accommodationist |

Philosophical Influence

Booker T. Washington, born a slave who later experienced the transition from slavery to *freedom*, was a complex individual. Literature reveals that he developed a strong philosophy around industrial education influenced by the contributors of slavery (Dagbovie, 2007; Gardner, 1975; Johnson & Watson, 2004; Norrell, 2008; Washington, 1901/2001; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017). This magnified the complexity of his philosophy and highlighted the tension of his philosophy in the 21st century.

Accommodationist

In the literature, Washington was described as an accommodationist for several reasons. For the purposes of this research the following reasons are highlighted: (a) he did not publicly fight for social equality; (b) his relationship with White philanthropists in the North and South; and (c) his infamous Atlanta Compromise Speech. This perception of Washington is what caused much of the tension between Washington and Du Bois and other Black leaders during that period

(Dagbovie, 2007; Norrell, 2008; Frontline, 1998). During the postslavery era, Black people and White people were trying to figure out the free negro and Washington was viewed as a Black leader who did not demand the equality that was needed for Black people to get a seat at the table of significant change (Boston, 1997; Lewis, 2014).

On September 18, 1895, Booker T. Washington gave a culture-shifting speech known as “The Atlanta Compromise.” This speech was changed the zeitgeist because it set Washington up as a prominent leader among the former slaves in the eyes of Southern and Northern whites. Many critics argued that the speech was too compromising to the views of Southern Whites and did not hold them accountable for the damage done during slavery (Johnson & Watson, 2004). Critics argued that the speech set the Black community back and did not demand a seat at the table (Du Bois, 1903; Lewis, 2014; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017). During his speech, Washington proposed ways in which the “two races” (para. 1) could coexist while contributing to a new era of industrialization. Washington stated, “In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress” (para. 5). He also encouraged both White men and Black men to “cast down” (para. 3) their buckets where they were because what they were looking for was among each other. More specifically, Washington spoke to the White Southern businessmen as they sought people to build infrastructure.

Washington shared,

Cast down your bucket where you are. Cast down among the eight million Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, built your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth,

and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. (para. 5)

Washington also spoke to the former slave who was looking for work to be able to provide for themselves and family. “Cast down your bucket where you are. ... Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions” (paras. 4–5).

The Atlanta Compromise speech conveyed many things but one of the biggest takeaways from critics was that Washington was an accommodationist (Du Bois, 1903; Moore, 2003). The speech sparked a response from other Black leaders like W. E. B. Du Bois, who pushed back on some of the views that Washington held toward establishing and empowering the former slave. Du Bois, among others, challenged this line of thinking in a way that would cause there to be two prominent philosophical camps within the Black community from the 19th into the 21st century (Dennis & Hudson, 2007; Frontline, 1998).

Elitist

In his Atlanta Compromise speech, Washington (1895) shared his thoughts on moving too quickly from one economic status to another in fear of missing what he deemed as important to work. He stated,

Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from poverty to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life. ... No race can prosper till it

learns that there is as much dignity in tilling the field as in wiring a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities. (para. 4)

Washington assumed that the former slave and child of the former slave needed to prove themselves in this new era of the South. There was an idea of a blessing of emancipation that should be tangible demonstrated through the work of the hands (Gardner, 1975; Johnson & Watson, 2004). His attitude towards building an economic future for the former slave and child of former slaves mirrored the idea of pulling oneself up by one's bootstraps (Gardner, 1975; Generals, 2000a, b). The attitude resembled an elite mentality as Booker T. Washington's expectations did not consider what it took to garner his achievements (Dagbovie, 2007; Lewis, 2014; Moore, 2003). Gardner (1975) stated,

Washington's outlook was an attempt to meet the problem of a people ill-equipped by the segregated system for either political leadership or economic progress. He was convinced that Negroes must prove themselves, must demonstrate tangible and concrete evidence that they are worthy of the blessings of emancipation. (p. 506)

Ownership

Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute was pivotal in helping former slaves own property in the South (Norrell, 2008). Booker T. Washington housed a bank on campus that would assist Black families in owning property. He saw this as assisting with economic gain in the South. To own property as a former slave was one step closer to becoming truly emancipated from slavery (Boston, 1997). Former slaves and children of former slaves could grow their own crops and sell them to make a profit for their families. This was one of the reasons why

agriculture was a large component of the Tuskegee curriculum (Generals, 2000a, 2000b; Norrell, 2008).

Tuskegee also encouraged Black Americans to pursue entrepreneurship. According to Lewis (2014), “Tuskegee presented to its students object lessons in entrepreneurship. Many of the early students were involved in the startup of the mini-industrial and agricultural Enterprises started on the campus” (p. 196). There was a spirit of entrepreneurship at Tuskegee (Moore, 2003). Students were encouraged to learn skills such as blacksmithing, brickmaking, printing, and more because they provided an opportunity for Blacks to own their futures, rather than have something that was not applicable to the workforce at the time. Some of the goals of Tuskegee were to develop a Black middle class and one of the avenues would be through entrepreneurship (Dagbovie, 2007). Many of the graduates of the Institute and other industrial schools of the South were well equipped to assume roles in entrepreneurship and help form a new middle class for the former slave (Dagbovie, 2007).

Education

Booker T. Washington’s ideas and philanthropic work helped stabilize and enhance the education of the former slave in the New South during and after the Reconstruction Era. (Anderson, 1988; Dennis, 1998). One of largest contributions was with the establishment of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama in 1881 (Moore, 2003). Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute is known today as Tuskegee University. Washington built the institution on culturally relevant education (CRE) and contextualized learning. Generals (2000b) commented,

His ideas on curriculum reflect the belief that the personal experiences of the student should serve as the basis for their educational experience. The curriculum should be

structured in such a way that it links the student's home experiences with formal knowledge. (p. 216)

Tuskegee became a leading employer of college graduates and Black teachers (Generals, 2000a). The success of the institute showed that educating the former slave was a great investment for the South and the economy.

During this time many of the HBCUs were established by White men. Washington established an institution for Black Americans that was created by a Black American. Washington's influence and political affiliation gained in favor in the North and South with philanthropic donors who bought into the education of the former slave and the education of the children of former slaves (Anderson, 1988; Dagbovie, 2007; Generals, 2000a, 2000b; Johnson & Watson, 2004; Moore, 2003). While Washington's ideals were controversial and polarizing, they assisted in affirming the need for HBCUs. He demanded that education be established and addressed so that former slaves could work and build wealth for their families (Dennis, 1998; Lewis, 2014). Washington's ideals and influence helped shape and model CTE in the 21st century.

Industrial Education

In the 19th and 20th century, career and technician education (CTE) was known as industrial education and then it became vocational education (Zamani-Gallaher, 2017). When Washington is explored through literature, there is not much found on his contribution to the 21st century CTE (Frantz, 1997; Gardner, 1975; Generals, 2000a, 2000b). More is focused on his Atlanta Compromise Speech and the tension between him and W. E. B. Du Bois (Frontline, 1998; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017). However, the foundational teachings at Tuskegee and the ideals of Booker T. Washington align with the ideals of CTE for the 21st century student.

Students were provided with an opportunity to develop industrial and scientifically based agricultural skills; they were taught the values of work and morality; they were taught academic theories embedded in the industries for which they were engaged; and they were given the opportunity to engage in problem solving. ... The students' work was directly related to their own lives and the life of the community. The work and study were tied to the social environment—using an interdisciplinary approach, the students were learning the academic subjects of math, geometry, science, English, and specific trade skills of carpentry, welding, masonry, electricity, and other salable skills of the building and trades. The theory classes provided the opportunity for systemic inquiry and problem solving. (Generals, 2000b, p. 217)

While there was no language to describe it at the time, Washington's pedagogy was revolutionary to how we teach in the 21st century and the objectives of CTE. His educational and curriculum ideals should place him in the history book with other progressive educators (Gardner, 1975; Generals, 2000a, 2000b; Washington, 1903).

Reconstruction Era

It is important to provide context to the postslavery and reconstruction era following the Civil War. A new South was formed and everyone experienced life in a way that was vastly different from how they had lived it prior to the war. Former slaves were not sure how to address their former masters and the opposite was also true; the culture that once was, was no more. The South needed to rebuild but did not have its previous workforce to do so (Moore, 2003; Norrell, 2008; Washington, 2001). During this time a group of powerful White philanthropists were asking the *Negro Question* (Moore, 2003). This group did not consider engaging the perspective of an African American when trying to answer this question. Booker T. Washington rose to the

forefront as a Black voice to provide guidance regarding education for former slaves (Dagbovie, 2007; Dennis, 1998; Frantz, 1997; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017). Hampton and Tuskegee were deemed as models for educating former slaves (Anderson, 1988; Johnson & Watson, 2004). The White philanthropists believed industrial education was the only path for the former slaves. Washington became popular as he cosigned this thought by pushing his industrial philosophy forward (Boston, 1997; Dagbovie, 2007; Generals, 2000a, b).

Success Through Career and Technical Education

The research question sought to understand the ideals of Washington's pathway to success through CTE. Washington esteemed *industrial education*, also known as CTE, as a true path to economic freedom (Dennis & Hudson, 2007; Generals, 2000a, b; Gordon, 2014; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017). His ideals were shaped by slavery and the type of education he received at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Anderson, 1988; Moore, 2003; Washington, 2001). Washington was born in 1856 as a slave in Virginia (Moore, 2003; Washington, 2001). In 1865, the 13th amendment abolished slavery (Moore, 2003; Washington, 2001). In 1881, the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute was established in Tuskegee, Alabama. Washington was selected to facilitate the success of this newly established institution for the newly freed or former slave (Moore, 2003; Washington, 2001). Through his experience, Washington's ideals for success by way of CTE were shaped. He found much success as a Black leader by building vocational education as a pathway for the newly freed slave to get an education, to own property, and much more. It seemed that Washington viewed the pathway to success in CTE in two common themes. These themes were social justice and economic freedom (Dagbovie, 2007; Washington, 1895).

Social Justice

On the surface it appeared that Washington was not taking up the mantle of the social justice fight. However, this was not the case behind the scenes nor through his belief in the power of industrial education (Dagbovie, 2007; Reynolds & Kendi, 2020). His push for social justice came through his philanthropic connection and his ideals about human capital and the respect that would come from White men once they saw the value the former slave added to the workforce (Frontline, 1998). Washington's hope was that educating the former slave in high demand industries would garner Black Americans respect and, therefore, the White man would see the former slave as equal (Frontline, 1998).

Economic Freedom

Land ownership was a major value within the ideology of Booker T. Washington. Washington believed that the former slave would not just work on the land but would own the land they had toiled on for centuries (Dunn, 1993; Moore, 2003; Washington, 1895). This value was demonstrated through the many lectures and talks Washington gave in the South. The value was also demonstrated at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. The only bank in the South that would help the former slave own land to help build wealth and gain economic freedom was housed on the Tuskegee campus (Lewis, 2014; Moore, 2003; Washington, 1901/2001).

Washington's Philosophy: Pros

The second subresearch question sought to identify the pros of Washington's philosophy. It is acknowledged that most of Washington's philosophy is rooted in his perspective as a former slave and educational experiences during the Reconstruction Era. Booker T. Washington's philosophy added value to the education and social capital of the 21st century. The pros of

Washington's philosophy are summarized under two themes: contextualized learning and culturally relevant teaching.

Contextualize Learning

Most historians would believe that Washington was strongly against liberal arts education; however, he was against this form of education without the application of hands-on learning (Generals, 2000a, 2000b). Washington's position was demonstrated in the way he constructed Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. The systemic norms of the 19th and 20th century shaped and molded Washington's philosophy. These norms made it very challenging to adapt in a society that was not constructed with the former slave in mind (Anderson, 1988; Dennis, 1998). Washington's philosophy provided the former slave a way to apply what was learned in the classroom to the communities in need of rebuilding and service. Washington believed that not only would the former slave gain skills, but would also gain the respect of the White man. According to Brown (2006), "Booker T. Washington believed that the humanity and self-interest of the White citizens would lead to progress for the African Americans" (para 2).

Culturally Relevant Teaching

Washington viewed relevance in curriculum as essential to teaching the former slave necessary skills by which they could use their hands to complete work (Lewis, 2014). According to Lewis (2014), "He was of the view that education would be largely ornamental if it was oblivious to the existential needs of those who received it" (p. 194). This relevant teaching helped produce teachers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and many individuals with the necessary skills for bolstering the industries of the 19th and 20th century. The Tuskegee model allowed students to apply what they were learning in the classrooms to the their communities. For example, many

of the buildings built at Tuskegee were built by students attending the institution (Generals, 2000a, b).

Washington's Philosophy: Cons

The third subresearch question sought to identify the cons in Washington's philosophy. These cons are addressed through the lens of the 21st century and consider what happened in the 19th and 20th centuries for contextualization. The cons derived from the literature are summarized under two themes: liberal education and accommodation.

Liberal Education

Booker T. Washington was not a fan of liberal education in the traditional sense (Generals, 2000a, 2000b; Norrell, 2008; Washington, 1903; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017). In his Atlanta Compromise speech, Washington (1895) stated,

Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling the field as in writing a poem. (para. 4)

Washington's unorthodox view of how liberal education should be taught put him against W. E. B. Du Bois and other Black leaders of that time and also placed him at odds with some leaders of the 21st century. The Tuskegee model demonstrated Washington was not against liberal education; however, he was against education that did not provide education of "head, hand, and heart" (Washington, 1895, para. 5). His method of teaching liberal education was

widely misunderstood and aided in generational conversation of liberal education versus vocational education rather than providing clear understanding of how the two could coexist (Generals, 2000a, 2000b; Lewis, 2014).

Accommodationist

Despite the great things Washington did to aid educating the former slave and providing the South on a strategy for the “New Question” he was viewed as an accommodationist among many of his peers (Moore, 2003, p. 31). These views did not make it easy for Washington to get buy-in from many of the Black Americans in the North. According to Lewis (2014),

His advocacy of vocational education as the vehicle for educating Black youth deepened the controversy that surrounded him, since this philosophy seemed to accord with the racist view at the time that Blacks were better fitted for learning of the trades than pursuits premised on abstraction. It also seems to accord with the view that Blacks should remain in their place socially and not aspire to stations in the class hierarchy that could be attained through pursuit of liberal education—stations that would disrupt social order. Some Black leaders viewed his advocacy as a vote against university education for the children of ex-slaves. (p. 190)

Washington held a very conservative perspective about how the former negro should try to gain respect from his former master. Unlike other Black leaders, Washington felt like the former slave should not loudly disrupt Southern order, but instead display the rights to citizenship through their work ethic (Dunn, 1993; Lewis, 2014; Washington, 1901/2001). His interest was not in getting a seat at the White man’s table but, rather, Washington (1895) promoted the idea of separate but equal. Washington (1895) proclaimed, “In all things that are

purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress (para. 5).

Discussion

Booker T. Washington's philosophy still adds value in the discussion of educating people for the workforce of the 21st century. His philosophy is relevant because it is a precursor to what is known today as CTE. The Tuskegee Institute provided multiple schools with a model to follow for many years (Anderson, 1988; Generals, 2000b). Much of Washington's work has not received the credit it deserved. His contributions to vocational education, specifically educating the former slaves and their descendants have been overlooked in the educational space. This lack of consideration continues to put a wedge in the Black community as people argue whether his philosophies help in moving the economic needle and creating generational success by obtaining a career through CTE.

There is currently little research that attempts to understand the connection between Booker T. Washington's philosophy and the history CTE has among the Black American community. Much of the literature in this review sought to highlight what Washington's philosophy communicated well and what it did not communicate well. This review was conducted to give the reader a better understanding of how Washington's philosophy was influenced by the Reconstruction Era but also added to the economic mobility of that period. The researcher investigated how Washington's philosophy can aid in conversations of economic success for the 21st century Black American.

This article attempted to provide context to the history of education in America and its relationship to Black America. The article demonstrated that educational systems in the United States have never been kind to Black Americans. Black Americans have always valued education

as a pathway to economic success and freedom, but the constructed systems did not equitably nor diversely consider the Black American experience from slavery to present day.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework assisted in centering the impact of history in the 21st century. While CRT and HCT were both established after Washington's death, the shaping of his philosophies are explained by both theories. This literature review did not provide details about the cultural implications of the 19th and 20th century; however, it was an attempt to challenge the reader to think about how culture shaped Washington's philosophies. CRT and HCT put current language to the method and reasoning for Washington's perspective. Schultz (1961) summarized, "Free men are first and foremost the end to be served by economic endeavors; they are not property or marketable assets. ... By investing in themselves, people can enlarge the range of choice available to them. It is one way free men can enhance their welfare" (p. 2). The results of this study indicate that Washington believed proper training would provide Black men and Black women with the skills needed to build a form of wealth after the emancipation of slavery.

The findings also indicate that culture was a major influence on how Washington's philosophy and choices were shaped and presented to the masses. Delgado and Stefancic (2017) stated, "But if racism is embedded in our thought processes and social structures as deeply as many critics believe, then the 'ordinary business' of society—the routines, practices, and institutions that we rely on to do the world's work—will keep minorities in subordinate positions" (p. 27). Washington's journey from an enslaved person to an educated founder of a university was facilitated by the systems in operation during the 19th and 20th century, and many of them still impact 21st century Black Americans in education.

Implications for Policy and Practice

This section talks about the implications for policy and practice. The implications are to help practitioners in the field of career and technical education in higher education. These implications for policy and practice highlight the need for inclusion and diversity in the field.

Implication for Practice #1: Increase Participation of Black Americans in CTE

The U.S. education system's history and establishment have implications for Black Americans' participation in CTE. Through slavery, tracking, and other methods of keeping Black Americans out of CTE, many Black Americans may not see the benefits of pursuing a CTE path in education. History requires intentional demonstration that CTE has evolved to a promising path to economic mobility. Intentional conversations and marketing to Black Americans can shape and change perspectives for what CTE is in the 21st century, thereby minimizing apprehensions that have been influenced by traumatic experiences in the education system (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Implication for Practice #2: Representation in Policy

Representation matters in the legislation of CTE to add a more inclusive thought and perception to the field. This means that when more Black American can see what educators were thinking about when legislating policies pertaining to CTE, they will understand that they can participate in policy formation, too. For example, involvement could be represented in the marketing and distributions of funds. Most importantly, there should not be a repeat of the mistake of making decisions for Black Americans; Black Americans should be included at the *table* of all levels of decision making.

Implication for Practice #3: Amplification of Booker T. Washington in Career and Technical Education

Booker T. Washington should be touted as a founder of industrial education like other White industrial founders. This will help Black Americans understand that they belong and have always belonged in the conversation of CTE. Washington's philosophy and methods are demonstrated in much of the pedagogical conversations of the classroom from secondary to postsecondary education. In addition, his work helped build many of the HBCUs. The best way to award contribution is to acknowledge and give credit.

Recommendations for Future Research

Recommendations for future research will add to the field of career and technical education with a continued focus on Black voices. Through these recommendations scholars and practitioners will find best practices and a deeper understanding of the Black leaders who contributed to CTE. With a continued focus on diverse voices and lived experiences, CTE research can continue to progress.

Recommendation for Future Research #1: Other Black Leaders' Contribution to Career and Technical Education

It is recommended that research be conducted on other Black leaders who contributed to the growth of CTE. Discovering the contributions of other Black educators is essential to building the blocks of diverse representation in research. Booker T. Washington is one of many leaders discovered during this integrative literature review. It is important to honor their work through the lens of other scholars and researchers.

Recommendation for Future Research #2: Best Practices from Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute

Researchers should take an in-depth look at the best practices at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute for the advancement of CTE among Black students. Tuskegee gave a model that successfully prepared Black students for the world of work. Perhaps researching the teaching methods used at Tuskegee could provide insight on how to prepare the 21st century Black student. A collection of best practices could provide other institutions with ways to serve the Black American student.

Recommendation for Future Research #3: International Impact of the Tuskegee Model

Finally, it is recommended that the international impact of the Tuskegee model be investigated. Booker T. Washington shared the Tuskegee model internationally. An investigation of the global impact of the model will produce further understanding of how CTE can have a wider influence in modern, global economies.

Conclusion

This article was written to gain an understanding of Booker T. Washington's philosophy. The acknowledgement of his role in CTE history helps contextualize the contributions of his work and the impact his philosophy has on the 21st century. Through an examination of the literature on Washington's work, this article revealed Washington's ability to respond to the needs of his students and industry in a way that promoted economic mobility and success. Success and economic mobility in the context of the 19th and 20th century was the ability to apply "head, hand, and heart" (Washington, 1895, para. 5) to gaining citizenship through labor. It is clear that Washington was not one dimensional in thought. His work was centered around application with the hope of generating equality, access, and citizenships for the former enslaved.

Many scholars conclude Booker T. Washington was singularly focused industrial education. While this is true, the literature reviewed in this article exposed that his advocacy for industrial education was for the advancement of the formerly enslaved to have access to the *American Dream*.. While Washington's method was different from W. E. B. Du Bois and others, the goal was still the same. His chosen method would allow for the masses of enslaved Black men and women to own land and economically advance in a country that did not consider this group of people. The importance and impact of his philosophy is essential to how CTE is translated to the Black community in the 21st century. CTE is less about politics and more about positioning oneself to get the most useful and applicable education possible. This literature review has given a thorough assessment of Booker T. Washington's philosophy. Translating these findings from the 19th and 20th century is essential to the applicability of this literature review for practice and other research in the 21st century.

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Chapter 4: An Exploration of W.E.B. Du Bois' Ideals through Literature and its Impact on the Perception of Career and Technical Education among Black Parents

in the 21st Century

Introduction

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was born in 1868, a free man, in Great Barrington Massachusetts (Dennis & Hudson, 2007; Frantz, 1997; Johnson & Watson, 2004; Moore, 2003). Du Bois was born into an aristocratic family but had no contact with his father or his father's side of the family (Moore, 2003). While living in Massachusetts, Du Bois lived in what would have been viewed as a progressive community. While the community he lived in and the school he went to were integrated, Blacks and Whites did not mingle socially (Moore, 2003). It wasn't until an encounter on the playground that Du Bois realized that his race made him different; it was when a White girl refused his card because he was Black (Moore, 2003). Du Bois grew up poor but in 1883, he went to visit his grandfather and took on the identity of his aristocratic legacy. During this visit, Du Bois became familiar with his family's history and saw proof of the wealth the Du Bois family had gained from European and Caribbean roots (Johnson & Watson, 2004; Moore, 2003). From this visit, he carefully cultivated an aristocratic image that is shown throughout his published work (Moore, 2003).

After high school Du Bois attended Fisk University but his original intent was to attend Harvard University (Bhambra, 2014; Moore, 2003). It was during his undergraduate experience at Fisk that he felt his focus shift; this shift helped shape his philosophy of racial uplift (Moore, 2003). Du Bois graduated from Fisk University in 1888 with a Bachelor of Arts degree and furthered his education at Harvard University from 1888 to 1895. Du Bois graduated from Harvard University in 1895 with a Bachelor of Arts and a doctorate in history (Moore, 2003).

During his time at Harvard University and after, Du Bois studied and taught at numerous universities, including many attempts to teach at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama (Bauerlein, 2004; Moore, 2003).

Many scholars have depicted W. E. B. Du Bois as someone who was against CTE (Dennis & Hudson, 2007; Frontline, 1998; Johnson & Watson, 2004; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017). His writings and scholarship have been used to paint a narrative of the disagreement he had with Booker T. Washington regarding the differences in liberal education versus industrial education, but this notion is far from the truth (Alridge, 1999a; Shinault, 2014). Du Bois' notoriety began after he pushed back against Washington's Atlanta Compromise speech. W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington's methods may have looked different but their philosophies around industrial education, now CTE, were very similar (Alridge, 1999a; Levy, 2016; Shinault, 2014).

W. E. B. Du Bois was a pioneer in the development of Black education during the Reconstruction Era and beyond. Understanding his philosophy is necessary for the appreciation and growth of CTE in the 21st century. Numerous articles examine Du Bois' work and the discord he shared with Washington, but not many scholars inquired about how his philosophy impacted CTE in the 21st century. In this review of the literature on Du Bois' life and work, the evolution of his philosophy and how he began to incorporate the importance of industrial education for the masses to impact economic mobility will be revealed. This review will also highlight the true difference between Du Bois' and Washington's philosophies as not a disagreement of the type of education needed for Black American advancement but rather, the methods around social justice and civic engagement used to promote and uplift Black Americans throughout recent history.

Theory

CRT is essential in the conversation about W. E. B. Du Bois and his contributions to CTE (Tyler et al., 2021). CRT assists in understanding the placement of Du Bois' philosophy in the 21st century and aids in understanding the culture during the 19th and 20th century that shaped his ideals and convictions (Bhambra, 2014; Harris, 1974; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Tyler et al., 2021). Culture, during the Reconstruction Era and into the Jim Crow period (19th and 20th centuries), had a large part in shaping Du Bois' philosophy (Anderson, 1988; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Shinault, 2014; Tyler et al., 2021). Much, if not all, of his work is in response to how Black Americans were treated in the South and the education that was being developed to address the Negro problem (Alridge, 1999b; Bauerlein, 2004; Du Bois, 1903/1995; Shinault, 2014). In the 19th and 20th century, race, and racism were used to create systematic barriers for Black Americans masked by the language of *help* or philanthropic actions by White Southerners and Northerners. W. E. B. Du Bois used his research to hold accountable the thought process behind many of the decisions being made to address the formerly enslaved and develop an educational plan to educate Black America (Tyler et al., 2021). Levy (2016) argued,

The basis for this pervasive paradigm may lie in the stories of White industrialists and Southern advocates of Black manual labor who sometimes advocated vocational education to train and track African American youth into a racial caste. But many studies misapplied their critique of White supremacy onto the pedagogical philosophy of industrial education itself. No doubt the White enthusiasm for Black industrial education would complicate and eventually upend Black progressive versions of the model. But by allowing White industrialists and their paternalistic agendas to define the terms of the narrative, scholars have diminished the role that Black industrial school advocates played

in crafting their own vision of industrial schools and the important ways that their pedagogical ideas reflected larger currents of thought and politics among African American thinkers. (p. 47)

Du Bois saw education as a pathway to provide Black Americans with the tools needed for political power and racial uplift (Du Bois, 1935, 1903/1995; Moore, 2003; Shinault, 2014). Gaining an education for the sole purpose of economic advancement did not address the larger issues that would keep Black Americans from accessing true economic and civil freedom (Sall & Khan, 2017). CRT seeks to address the systemic issues that White supremacy would rather ignore (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Du Bois challenged the thought around race in the United States, especially when it came to education, by arguing for “race to be understood as a social issue” (Bhambra, 2014, p. 474). Literature suggests that Du Bois’ convictions regarding the Black Americans’ racial positioning shaped the stand he took against industrial education (Du Bois, 1903/1995, 1935; Harris, 1974; Washington, 1903). Du Bois argued not against industrial education as a mechanism for economic and social mobility but against the notion that race and segregation were not significant factors in the state of the underdevelopment of Black Americans (Du Bois, 1935; 1903/1995). This same argument is applicable in the 21st century as many of the challenges Black Americans face in education can be traced back to slavery, reconstruction, and the days of Jim Crow policies. This positionality leads a generation to better understand the systems that negatively affect the educational achievement of Black Americans and their progress to economic mobility (Du Bois, 1935/1998).

Method

The Review Goal

This review was conducted to explore the impact of W. E. B. Du Bois' philosophy as it affected the perception of CTE among Black parents. This review will bring attention to the evolution of Du Bois' philosophy and his adoption of CTE for the masses. It will also highlight the ways Du Bois' philosophy has shaped how Black Americans view CTE in the 21st century. The researcher examined literature focusing on Du Bois' history and his role in shaping Black education during the Reconstruction Era through Jim Crow. The following research question and subquestions guided this review:

1. How had the philosophy of W. E. B. Du Bois influenced Black American communities' perception of CTE?
 - A. What are the ideals of W. E. B. Du Bois' pathway to success through CTE?
 - B. What can be found in the literature about the pros of W. E. B. Du Bois' ideals of CTE?
 - C. What can be found in the literature about the cons of W. E. B. Du Bois' ideals of CTE?

Design

Torraco's (2005) guidelines to integrative literature reviews was used to design this literature review. Beginning with a very broad topic to discover a problem within the literature, the researcher then synthesized the literature to add to the field of CTE (Torraco, 2005, 2016; Whittemore, 2005). The researcher reviewed and examined the literature to have a better understanding of how history has impacted the Black experience in education, specifically in

CTE. This review specifically addressed W. E. B. Du Bois' philosophy and reveals the impact of his philosophy on the Black community from the Reconstruction Era until the 21st century.

Data Collection Methods

Included in this section are the search methods, search strategies, search outcomes, quality of literature, and literature outcomes. The literature was searched and reviewed to determine its relevancy to the research questions. The researcher determined which pieces of literature should be kept and which should be discarded by reading the abstracts of the selected articles and the beginning chapters of books related to the topic (Torraco, 2005). The qualifying articles and books were retained for data analysis.

Search Methods

The researcher reviewed several articles and books to understand W. E. B. Du Bois' philosophy and his contributions to the field of education. The search for literature began with education journals but quickly expanded outside of the field of education to include the field of sociology and other fields relevant to the review. The researcher desired to gain an in-depth understanding of Du Bois' work and how his philosophy was shaped through his work. The researcher identified which literature was relevant to the research questions By reviewing the abstract of articles and the beginning chapters in books (Torraco, 2005, 2016; Webster & Watson, 2002). During the search, the researcher realized that much research exists on Du Bois' contribution to the broad topic of Black education in America, but there is little empirical knowledge on its relevance to CTE. In addition to using other scholars, the researcher examined Du Bois' own research and writings. His contributions to the field clarified his expectations for CTE in the Black community. The research questions were used as a guide to analyze the literature.

Search Strategies

To find existing literature around this topic the researcher conducted a search using several databases. One primary database, Google Scholar, assisted in navigating the researcher to JSTOR, ProQuest, and ERIC. Using the features of Google Scholar, the research was able to set up an alert system. Table 3 displays the keywords used and number of times the word correlated with relevant literature. Literature found using these keywords were read completely and the researcher kept an Excel document to organize the data that were relevant to the research question and subquestions. A total of 1,003 pieces of literature were retrieved from electronic databases and by hand, using the reference pages of relevant literature. There were 974 irrelevant pieces of literature discarded and a total of 29 remained to assist the researcher in answering the research questions in this study.

Search Outcomes

The outcomes of this search produced relevant literature to the research topic. Much of the literature discovered was an intersection of race, education, and social justice as W. E. B. Du Bois was a scholar and a revolutionary. There was much discovery of Du Bois' writing around the research topic and his contribution to the fields of education and sociology. The search provided literature that captured Du Bois' perspective toward CTE and his relationship with Booker T. Washington.

Table 3*Key Words Searched for in the Literature*

| Key Word | Number of Occurrences |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Booker T. Washington | 17 |
| career and technical education | 4 |
| community college | 2 |
| critical race theory | 1 |
| elite | 1 |
| higher education | 1 |
| human capital theory | 0 |
| industrial education | 6 |
| postsecondary education | 1 |
| progressive era | 1 |
| reconstruction era | 2 |
| Talented Tenth | 3 |
| The Great Debate | 9 |
| The Atlanta Compromise | 1 |
| vocational education | 3 |
| W. E. B. Du Bois | 24 |

Quality of Literature

The diversity of the literature added value to this integrative literature review. All the literature used was relevant to the research topic and allowed the researcher to discover various themes to contributed to the research questions. The literature reviewed during the discovery provided various perspectives around the work of W. E. B. Du Bois and his contributions to the topic of CTE.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted by using the research questions to guide the researcher as the literature was read. The researcher used the questions to analyze the words and find relevant themes that were relevant to the research topic. While analyzing the literature, the margins of the documents were used to keep notes. The abstract of each article was read to determine the relevancy to the research questions. Once the literature was determined to be relevant, the

researcher read the literature in its entirety. A matrix was created to track synthesized thoughts from the literature (see Appendix B). The matrix was organized by research question and notes were plugged into the matrix that answered the research question. While reading the literature, the researcher used words such as ideal, pros, and con to indicate which question the literature answered.

Synthesis of Literature

This literature review used the literature as data. The researcher synthesized the data to find common themes relevant to the research questions. According to Torraco (2005), an integrative literature review should follow a logical and critical analysis of the literature by asking important questions aiding in the discovery of themes and future research. Probing questions were used in the discovery of relevant information in the literature. Subquestions allowed the researcher to have a more critical observation of the literature, which helped maintain the integrity of the research. During the synthesizing of the literature several themes emerged that provided insight into Du Bois' philosophy and its contribution to the perception of CTE in the 21st century.

Findings

The findings discovered in the integrative literature review are presented in this section, which is organized by research questions and the themes discovered to answer the research questions. One research question with three subquestions assisted the researcher in guiding the reader through the integrative review. This section will begin with discussing the finding for the initial research question, followed by the themes supporting the subquestions. Table 4 outlines the research question and subquestions along with their associated themes.

Table 4*Research Question and Associated Themes*

| Research Question and Subquestions | Theme |
|--|--------------------------------|
| Research Question: How has the philosophy of W. E. B. Du Bois influenced Black American communities' perception of CTE by existing literature? | evolution, social justice |
| Subquestion A: What are the ideals of W. E. B. Du Bois' pathway to success through CTE? | liberal education |
| Subquestion B: What can be found in the literature about the pros of W. E. B. Du Bois' ideals for CTE? | Guiding Hundredth and activism |
| Subquestion C: What can be found in the literature about the cons to W. E. B. Du Bois' ideals for CTE? | Talented Tenth and elitism |

Philosophical Influence

W. E. B. Du Bois was an influential black leader during a time when the foundation for Black American education was being established (Anderson, 1988; Du Bois, 1903/1995). He not only challenged the new South on how they treated the *new Negro*, but challenged other Black leaders on the methods used to education the former enslaved. During his journey he was able to use his understanding of culture and life experiences to communicate what was needed at the time and where shifts were necessary (Shinault, 2014). The literature revealed how Du Bois' philosophy was shaped and the impact it had on education in the North and South.

Evolution

Unlike Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois was able to evolve his philosophy over his lifetime. He demonstrated the need for leadership to amend original thoughts, if necessary, to stay relevant with changes that may be happening (Shinault, 2014). Due to his desire to racially uplift through education, he found it necessary to shift his perspective when the desired outcome

was not manifested from his research. Below are key writings and dates that demonstrate Du Bois' evolution in philosophy:

1897

Du Bois wrote the essay, *Conservation of the Races* in 1897 (Du Bois, 2014). In the essay, Du Bois articulated the beginnings of his hypothesis of what would be known as the *Talented Tenth*. Du Bois believed that higher education would produce a group of educated Black equipped with the knowledge to “activate” and “instigate” ideas that would speak for the needs of the Black community (Shinault, 2014, p. 4). This increased number of Blacks getting access to higher education would provide the Black community what it needed to stand against the injustices that were taking place in the South (Shinault, 2014).

1899

Du Bois wrote and conducted his study, *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899/1995). This sociological work gave voice to Black American in a way never done before and was empirical in establishing Du Bois as the scholar he continued to become up to his death (Shinault, 2014). Through this study, Du Bois shared stories of a Black community by highlighting the successes and failures that aided in their institutions. In his work, Du Bois shared stories of “educated and skilled Blacks who could not find employment in the field for which they had been trained. The real problem, he implied, was not lack of ability but lack of opportunity—in short, racism” (Moore, 2003, p. 55). Surprisingly, Du Bois did not point fingers at White America but instead put the responsibility on the Black community. The findings from this study led to more research offerings and established the platform for what would be known as the Talented Tenth (Du Bois, 1903/1995).

1903

Du Bois wrote the *Talented Tenth* (Du Bois, 1903/2017). In the essay, Du Bois stated, “The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other race” (Du Bois, 1903/2017, p. 2). During this time, Du Bois believed that it was the elite 10% of the Black race whose education should be developed and taught in higher education. This 10% included but was not limited to doctors, lawyers, teachers, carpenters, and more who were responsible for learning and then returning to their communities to bring the other 90% along to racial, civil, political, and social liberation (Du Bois, 1903/1995; Frantz, 1997). The gaining of their higher education would give them the tools needed to sit at the White man’s table and advocate for the needs of Black America (Du Bois, 1903/2017).

1909

Du Bois establishes the NAACP in an effort to “move his advocacy beyond the walls of education” (Shinault, 2014, p. 5). Shinault (2014) noted that Du Bois emphasized blending theoretical principles with practical application. Within this context, Du Bois hoped the Talented Tenth would see and capitalize upon their role in shaping relations between Black and White Americans (Shinault, 2014).

1930s

In the 1930s, Du Bois began to reassess his previous determination of the Negro Problem. He was not pleased with the advances that the Talented Tenth were making but nonetheless maintained his theory that the Talented Tenth was the best chance for Black Americans to have

an impact socially, economically, and politically (Shinault, 2014). Race relations and the integration of schools began to be discussed as the resolution to the inequities of Black education. Previously, Du Bois voiced his support for integrated schools but during this time he began to consider separate schools and economies to have true racial uplift in the Black communities (Alridge, 1999b; Anderson, 1988; Dennis, 1998; Shinault, 2014).

1940

Du Bois wrote *Dusk of Dawn* in 1940 (Du Bois, 1940/2017) to remind the educated elite that no matter the form of education, their race would always “bind them to the fate of the Black masses” (Shinault, 2014, p. 6). By this time, Du Bois had become very frustrated with the inaction of the Talented Tenth and was disenchanted by their lack of mobilization toward the masses of Black America in the space of emancipation (Alridge, 1999a; Frantz, 1997). Du Bois left the NAACP in 1934, with growing ideas of Pan-Africanism and a new concept that he called *Guiding Hundredth* (Alridge, 1999a; Shinault, 2014).

1950s

During the 1950s a monumental case, *Brown v. the Board of Education* (1954), rocked the nation by mandating the integration of schools, causing Black and White children to be educated in the same spaces. Du Bois voiced concerns of cultural relevancy and types of learning environments while integrating schools (Shinault, 2014). He advocated that much would be lost within the Black community; separate but equal was the request of the Black community, but integration was the result (Shinault, 2014). Arguing that integration was not the answer for Black education success for the masses (Shinault, 2014), in 1952, Du Bois wrote *In Battle for Peace*, where he continued to express his disappointment in the Black American who he referred to as the talented tenth. Du Bois (1952) stated,

The hope of the future of the Negro race in America and the world lies far more among its workers than among its college graduates, until the that our higher training is rescued from it sycophantic and cowardly leadership of today (p. 77).

Social Justice

In 1895, Booker T. Washington made a great speech entitled *The Atlanta Compromise*. During this speech Washington proposed what seemed to be a concrete plan to rebuild the South in a manner that answered the “Negro Question” and kept the White South unthreatened by the Negro who was no longer enslaved (Moore, 2003, p. 31). It was after this speech that Du Bois disagreed with Booker T. Washington’s methods of compromising in the New South (Levy, 2016; Washington, 1903). In 1903, Du Bois responded to Washington’s speech and articulated his appreciation for Washington while communicating his opposition to Washington’s philosophy of accommodation in a space where social justice was a necessity (Washington, 1903). Du Bois acknowledged the platform that Washington held with the South and the North, “but Booker T. Washington arose as essentially the leader not of one race but of two—a compromiser between the South, the North, and the Negro” (Du Bois, 1903/1995, para. 15). However, Du Bois resented the idea of not addressing the systems that would prevent the Black man from advancing in society.

Du Bois felt that Washington “represented in Negro through the old attitude of adjustments and submission” (1903/1995, para. 16), but that attitude was not relevant for the economic reconstruction that was beginning and did not give the Black American a fair change. Du Bois stated,

Mr. Washington distinctly asks that Black people give up, at least for the present, three things—first, political power, second, insistence on civil rights, third, higher education of

Negro youth—and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South. This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over 15 years and has been triumphant for perhaps 10 years. As a result of this tender of the palm-branch, what has been the return? In these years there have occurred: (1) the disfranchisement of the Negro; (2) the legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro; and (3) the steady withdraw of aid from institutions for higher training of the Negro. (Du Bois, 1903/1995)

Throughout his response to Washington's speech, Du Bois shared the dilemma that Washington's philosophy puts the Black community in as they try to gain economic uplift and freedom without addressing social justice.

Mr. Washington thus faces the triple paradox of his career: (1) he is striving nobly to make Negro artisans business men and property owners, but it is utterly impossible, under modern competitive methods, for working men and proper owners to defend their rights and exist without suffrage; (2) he insists on thirst and self-respect, but at the same time counsels a silent submission to civic inferiority such as is bound to sap manhood of any race in the long run; and (3) he advocates common-school and industrial training, and depreciates institutions of higher learning; but neither the Negro common-schools, nor Tuskegee itself, could remain open a day were it not for teachers trained in Negro colleges, or training by their graduates. (Du Bois, 1903/1995)

By not addressing the issues of slavery, Du Bois felt that Washington was placing the burden of the Negro problem on Black Americans rather than placing the burden on the nation. He argued that the South needed to have hard conversations to right the wrongs done to Black

Americans and the North needed to join in these conversations because of its involvement (Du Bois, 1903/1995).

Du Bois pushed back on Washington's ideals regarding accommodating the South instead of holding them accountable for the injustices that had happened to Black Americans and were still occurring on Washington's watch. Du Bois stated he would rather Washington lead the mantle for industrial education and argue against social injustices (Alridge, 1999a; Dunn, 1993). Du Bois' stance against Washington in 1903 helped draw the line between these two men; however, this disagreement prompted Black Americans to take sides on whose philosophy would help Black Americans the most (Frantz, 1997; *Frontline*, 1998; Johnson & Watson, 2004; Moore, 2003; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017).

Success Through Career and Technical Education

It is important to understand how liberal education contributes to CTE in the 21st century. Du Bois may not have understood it completely; however, he promoted liberal education as a method to which Black Americans could expand in critical thinking. Du Bois' advocacy for liberal education is discussed in the following section.

Liberal Education

W. E. B. Du Bois advocated for a liberal education for Black Americans, not only for economic mobility. He also felt a liberal education promoted critical thinking as Black Americans strived to gain political and civil power. Having a liberal education would promote independent thinking and empower Black Americans to ask the right questions to perpetuate the agenda of White Americans (Du Bois, 1903/2017; Zamani-Gallaher, 2017). He placed his faith in liberal education as this would be used to empower the elite, educated 10% who would, in turn, liberate the masses (Du Bois, 1903/2017; Sall & Khan, 2017). Du Bois advised against the

over-saturation of industrial education without providing liberal arts. From his perspective, only focusing on the accumulation of wealth when those who have the power do not include intellectuals from the Black community was not beneficial to the economic and civil liberties needed for success (Bhambra, 2014; Dennis, 1998; Sall & Khan, 2017). Liberal education served as a gatekeeper to accessing the tables and conversations where policies were being developed that effected the new Negro (Sall & Khan, 2017).

Du Bois' Philosophy: Pros

This integrative literature review sought to review the pros of Du Bois' philosophy. This section highlights the major themes found through literature, the Guiding Hundredth, and activism. The benefits of Du Bois' philosophy are outlined throughout the section.

Guiding Hundredth

W. E. B. Du Bois always supported the skills that industrial education provided Black Americans and acknowledged the importance of the working class as part of the American workforce (Alridge, 1999a, 1999b). Du Bois (1903) shared, "I believe that next to the founding of Negro colleges the most valuable addition to Negro education since the Civil War, has been industrial training for Black boys. I insist that the object of all education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men" (p. 63). However, it was not until he realized that the Talented Tenth were not uplifting the masses as his original theory intended, that Du Bois introduced the concept of the Guiding Hundredth (Alridge, 1999b). According to Alridge (1999b),

Du Bois argued that the Talented Tenth had used their education to advance their own positions in society and to improve their own economic situations. As members of this

group uplift themselves and moved into the middle class, Du Bois argued they seldom reached down to uplift the African American masses. (p. 192).

The concept of the Guiding Hundredth considered the ways in which America was changing as a global leader in economics and politics (Alridge, 1999a, 1999b). This switch in perspective provided space for an inclusive curriculum of industrial and classical education. Alridge (1999b) stated,

As a result of Du Bois' revision and synthesis of his own and Washington's educational philosophies, he began advocating more comprehensive versions of classical education and integrated a technologically advanced level of vocational training into his educational strategy for African Americans. Together, classical, and vocational education, Du Bois believed, should expand to encompass the ideals of humanistic education as well as the processes of work and advanced technical and industrial techniques. (p. 191)

Activism

The controversy between W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington was less about a liberal education versus an industrial education and more about the goal and methods of Black American social activism (Vela, 2002). Du Bois was very intentional about speaking against the way Black Americans were being treated in America and regarded in the workforce of the Reconstruction Era (Gallagher, 2016). He spoke very strongly against the education of the Black man and joined with other activists to speak against the violence put on Black American bodies like lynching and more (Dunn, 1993; Harris, 1974; Moore, 2003). In 1909, Du Bois helped found the NAACP (n.d). Du Bois felt that this was an opportunity to take his activism outside of higher education and make practical change through his research (Shinault, 2014). The NAACP became the nation's largest civil rights. It aimed to,

secure for all people the rights guaranteed in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution, which promised an end to slavery, provided equal protection of the law, and the right for all men to vote. Accordingly, the NAACP's mission is to ensure the political, educational, equality of minority group citizens of States and eliminate race prejudice. (NAACP, n.d.-a, para. 2)

W. E. B. Du Bois used his skill of research, writing, and platform to assist in placing the NAACP as a leader in scholarly activism when it came to matters of education and more (NAACP, n.d.-b). He became the director of publicity and started the organization's journal entitled *The Crisis* (NAACP, n.d.-a). In 1934, Du Bois took a break from the NAACP after a disagreement over his stance on segregation (Aldridge, 1999a, 1999b; Du Bois, 1935/1998; NAACP, n.d.-b). He advocated for *separate but equal* schooling when it came to the education of Black Americans because of the way Black Americans would be treated attending White schools (Du Bois, 1935/1998). Du Bois (1935/1998) attempted to communicate that schools needed to create a sense of belonging but that was hard to do if the teachers and students did not understand each other. Du Bois wrote,

The proper education of any people includes sympathetic touch between teacher and pupil: knowledge on the part of the teacher, not simply of the individual taught, but of his surroundings and background, and the history of his class and group; such contact between pupils, and between teacher and pupil, on the basis of perfect social equality, as will increase this sympathy and knowledge; facilities for education in equipment and housing, and the promotion of such extra-curricular activities as will tend to induct the child into life. If this is true, and if we recognize the present attitude of White America toward Black America, then the Negro not only needs the vast majority of these schools,

but it is a grave if, in the near future, he will not need more such schools, both to take care of his natural increase, and defend him against the growing animosity of Whites. (p. 328)

Du Bois' Philosophy: Cons

This section discusses the cons of the philosophy of W.E.B Du Bois. Du Bois' concepts of the Talented Tenth and elitism are presented. This section highlights the parts of Du Bois' philosophy that should be examined more closely.

Talented Tenth

W. E. B. Du Bois started his career by not only pushing back against Booker T. Washington, but by providing scholarly research to support his support for liberal education. His research behind the Talented Tenth began with a focus to uplift the Black community economically and how the "Black professional class could be utilized to achieve this goal" (Johnson & Watson, 2004, p. 68). His book, *The Philadelphia Negro* (Du Bois, 1899/1995), helped establish the research to support the narrative behind the Talented Tenth. In his essay, *The Talented Tenth* (1903/2017), Du Bois wrote,

The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races. Now the training of men is a difficult and intricate task. Its technique is a matter for educational experts, but its object is for the vision of seers. If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but no, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we

make manhood the object of the work of the schools—intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it—this is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life. On this foundation we may build bread winning, skill of hand and quickness of brain, with never a fear lest the child and man mistake the means of living for the object of life. (pp. 2–3)

Du Bois felt that this group of liberal educated and professional individuals would sacrifice their personal ambitions to pour back into the Black community and help uplift the masses (Du Bois, 1903/2017). This group would also help elevate Black culture and give access to the social, economic, and political power to address the needs of the Black community, the needs that were not being addressed through White supremacy (Du Bois, 1903/2017). In his essay, *Dusk of Dawn* (1940/2017), Du Bois repeated his belief in the talented tenth:

I believed in the higher education of a Talented Tenth who through their knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Negro into a higher civilization. I knew that without this the Negro would have to accept White leadership, and such leadership could not always be trusted to guide the group into self-realization and to its higher cultural possibility. (p. 70)

Another focus of the Talented Tenth was the need to produce teachers for the *normal schools* and there could not be educators for the normal schools without the liberal education of the teacher (Du Bois, 1903/2017). Du Bois (1903/2017) stated, “We need Negro teachers for Negro common schools, and we need first class normal schools and colleges to train them. This is the work of higher Negro education, and it must be done” (p. 27). It was important to Du Bois that HBCUs be created for the education of the Talented Tenth and investment was made to make sure this work continued (Wendling, 2018). However, in solidifying the need for this elite

group of intellectuals, Du Bois downplayed the education that was taking place in normal (Du Bois, 1903/2017, p. 24) or industrial schools. Du Bois (1903/2017) argued,

This is sheer nonsense. There are today less than 3,000 living Negro college graduates in the United States, and less than 1,000 Negroes in college. Moreover, in the 164 schools for Negroes, 95 percent of their students are doing elementary and secondary work, work which should be done in public schools. Over half the remaining 2,157 students are taking high school studies. The mass of the so-called 'normal' schools for the Negro, are simply doing elementary common schoolwork, or, at most, high school work, with little instruction in methods. The Negro colleges and postgraduate courses at other institutions are the only agencies for the broader and more careful training of teachers. (p. 24)

Elitism

Born into an aristocratic family, Du Bois developed an elitist attitude toward Black Americans (Frantz, 1997; Moore, 2003; Sall & Khan, 2017; Tyler et al., 2021). This elitist attitude was placed upon him because of the family that he was born into; however, it was amplified and affirmed as he matriculated through higher education. Du Bois received a community scholarship to Fisk University, a HBCU in 1885, but always wanted to attend Harvard University. Du Bois did eventually attend Harvard in 1889. According to Moore (2003),

Fisk students saw themselves as the vanguard of the race, whose duty it was to go among their people and lead them out of bondage—not physical bondage, of course, but the bonds of poverty and ignorance that they believed were keeping the race from progressing. They shared a spirit of *noblesse oblige*, the idea that as persons of superior breeding and class they had an obligation and special responsibility to care for those less fortunate. (p. 42)

Growing up, Du Bois did not experience much discrimination. He seemed to navigate the terrain of being a Black man in America with some ease and then went to a university that elevated the thought of college graduates leading the way for the less intellectual to follow (Moore, 2003). Du Bois' educational travels and encounters were greatly influenced by other elite Black intellectuals who held his same convictions (Moore, 2003).

The Philadelphia Negro study (Du Bois, 1899/1995) that produced the concept of the Talented Tenth is an example of Du Bois' elitist attitude shaping theory into practice (Sall & Khan, 2017). This concept was built of the "best" (Sall & Khan, 2017, p. 513) among Black people as the only group among the race to help progress the masses forward to uplift a community. Sall and Khan (2017) contended,

Culturally, the Talented Tenth would reach the full measure of the best type of modern European culture. Yet this tenth was not to be a kind of black aristocracy; Du Bois imagined that institutions could be designed wherein, through their talents, the "best" among Black people could become elite. He took his elite position seriously, arguing against universal higher education; he didn't want too many college-bred men, but enough to leave the lump to inspire the masses. (p. 513)

A critique of this concept was that it birthed and encouraged a mindset of elitism among the Black race, creating a culture that glorified those who pursued higher education in a liberal space (Shinault, 2014). For many Black leaders, Du Bois amplified the concept of the Talented Tenth to escape the existence of his Blackness and assimilate within White America (Shinault, 2014).

Discussion

W. E. B. Du Bois' philosophy contributes to the conversations of CTE, especially when educating Black America. It is necessary to add the work of Du Bois and his contributions when discussing CTE as a method of access to economic mobility. There have been diverse bodies of work and research examining Du Bois' impact on education and sociology but very few, if any, scholars have examined his contribution to CTE. His overall philosophy includes many ideals of CTE but also stresses the importance of liberal education while gaining technical skills (Johnson & Watson, 2004; Levy, 2016; Shinault, 2014). This is evident through his overall evolution from the Talented Tenth to the Guiding Hundredth. It was in his evolutionary journey that he realized his early educational stance would not aid in addressing the Negro Problem (Shinault, 2014). Du Bois' fundamental thought around higher education and its necessity for advancement is a core truth in today's workforce. It also assists in the shift of the 21st century from university education for all to postsecondary education for all (Fleming, 2016). Du Bois' philosophy supports the ideal that everyone needs some form of postsecondary education to aid them in today's workforce.

This article was written to provide a different perspective for how W. E. B. Du Bois viewed CTE as a valuable pathway for Black Americans. It also attempted to show the need for evolution of thought and how Du Bois' evolution contributes to many topics in the 21st century. The researcher wanted to highlight the journey of a scholar and his impact on CTE from the 19th century to the present.

Theoretical Framework

Many scholars reference CRT when discussing the contributions of W. E. B. Du Bois through scholarship and activism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Du Bois provided a blueprint for

intertwining theory and practice to address the systems that affect Black Americans. This integrative literature review attempted to elevate his perspective of CTE and to analyze his work through a different lens but same framework. Activism through education was always Du Bois' goal; however, findings from this literature review demonstrate how the systems also helped shaped Du Bois' perspective and magnified his discord with Booker T. Washington.

One of the basic tenets of CRT, sometimes referred to as “interest convergence,” suggests that many of the decisions for the minority race are initiated in an effort to “advance the interest of both White elites (materially) and working-class Whites (physically)” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 9). The findings in this study would suggest that CRT upholds Du Bois' philosophical apprehensions toward CTE for the advancement of Black Americans, especially during a time when the former enslaved were not considered.

Implications for Policy and Practice

This section includes implication for policy and practice for the field of CTE. These implications seek to add value to the field in a way that highlight the contributions of Du Bois. Through these implications, it is desired that practitioners can see the value of Du Bois' philosophy to the field of CTE.

Implication for Practice #1: Reevaluation of Du Bois' Philosophy Toward Career and Technical Education

There is value in reevaluating the narrative of Du Bois' work and his thoughts toward CTE. Sharing the full evolution of Du Bois' work paints him as the advocate that he was for CTE. It shows representation in the field but also changes the minds of educators who subscribe to his ideals based on the Talented Tenth. Sharing about the Guiding Hundredth paints a different picture of Du Bois' goals for educating Black Americans.

Implication for Practice #2: Culturally Relevant Teaching in Career and Technical Education

Du Bois' research can aid in the development of curriculum for CTE, especially when it comes to providing culturally relevant teaching. Today, the term *representation matters* is prevalent. This is what Du Bois encouraged lawmakers to remember when integrating schools. Representation calls for a diverse curriculum when teaching in CTE classrooms, diverse teachers, partners, marketing, and examples. It is important to connect the classroom to the community so that students see the impact that CTE has on their communities of origin. Culturally relevant teaching helps students see their place in the classroom.

Implication for Practice #3: Evolution of Du Bois to the Teaching of the Guiding Hundredth

The evolution of CTE is a blending of the philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. Truly marketing, promoting, and sharing the blend may attract Black Americans to CTE. It is important to communicate this in a way that reaches the 21st century student and the various generations in the classroom. However, the philosophy speaks to the spirit of community that is found in the Black community. Presenting the Guiding Hundredth in a palatable way allows everyone to find their seat at the table.

Recommendations for Future Research

The following recommendations for research seek to add continued understanding of Du Bois' philosophy. The recommendations highlight Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) as a focal point. It is through these recommendations that a continued focus on diversity in the field of CTE may be realized.

Recommendation for Future Research #1: Understanding Elitism in Education

It is recommended that further research be conducted to gain a better understanding of elitism in Black American education. Elitism may also contribute to the perception of CTE.

Literature has revealed that much of Du Bois' initial teaching was built on an elitist platform of educated Black Americans. Understanding this process could aid in the marketing of CTE to Black Americans who still see CTE as a less than optimal way to obtain education and success.

Recommendation for Future Research #2: Impact of the Talented Tenth at Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Research should be conducted on the impact of the Talented Tenth on HBCUs and the students they serve. HBCUs are an essential part of the Black community. Understanding how the concept of the Talented Tenth contributes to Black students applying to HBCUs can provide insight into the students who attend these institutions. Black students are not a monolith, so knowing their motivations will give HBCUs knowledge on how to serve them better inside the classroom. More research on HBCUs can help the institutions prepare for the changing workforce and economy.

Recommendation for Future Research #3: Double Consciousness and Pan-Africanism Effect on Career and Technical Education

It is recommended that a study be conducted to examine the concepts of double consciousness and Pan-Africanism and their effect on how Black Americans view belonging in CTE. In Du Bois' later career much of his work spoke to double consciousness and Pan-Africanism. Both concepts are concerned with belonging for Black Americans in CTE. Better understanding of these concepts will aid the CTE field in creating equitable, diverse, and inclusive environments for Black students, which speaks to the overall thought of belonging. Creating this space of belonging will allow several tables to exist and give access to Black Americans in the 21st century.

Conclusion

W. E. B. Du Bois' philosophy contributes to CTE in many ways. The discovery of his contributions is necessary to encourage Black Americans to participate in this type of learning. Unlike Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois was able to evolve his thinking to fit the needs of the present day. His ideas of the format of education changed after realizing his initial ideals were not moving the masses forward. It is through his writing and the writing of other scholars, that we see Du Bois change his mind about the Talented Tenth. It is also through literature that we understand his disagreement was not against the method but against the politics the method was encouraging.

Du Bois' principles of the Guiding Hundredth speak to CTE in the 21st century. The Guiding Hundredth promotes the idea that it takes both liberal and technical education to produce what the workforce needs. It also aids in affirming Washington's philosophy and modernizes the concept of "head, hand, and heart" (Washington, 1895, para. 5). Allowing Black Americans to no longer see Washington and Du Bois as separate, but rather scholars who had healthy discord for the betterment of Black America will, in turn, help strengthen the narrative of CTE as a quality educational option for Black Americans to gain access to economic mobility.

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Chapter 5: An In-depth Look at Career and Technical Education Through the Lenses of 21st Century Black Parents and its Intersectionality with the Philosophies of Booker T.

Washington and W.E.B Du Bois

Introduction

Education is often viewed as the gateway to success. According to Cole and Omari (2003), Black Americans “have viewed education as the most respected and most effective mechanism for accomplishing the goal of upward mobility, the achievement of which challenges race and class based on oppression” (p. 790). In 2014, Chetty, Hendren, Kline, and Saez conducted a study that examined economic mobility in major cities. In all these cities Black Americans were the least likely to move up economically. Ferguson et al. (2011) reported there are issues facing the workforce related to getting talent and filling the widening skills gap present in today’s economy. Over the past decade there has been a tremendous push to end the “college for all” mantra (Fleming, 2016, p. xxi), while at the same time educate the public on in-demand, high skilled jobs (Schwartz, 2016).

It is important to realize that the conversation of what track or path students should take is not new. It is especially not new for the Black community. For centuries, people have been discussing the best pathway for Black communities and most of these discussions have occurred without Black American input (Moore, 2003; Schwartz, 2016; Tyler et al., 2021). From the 19th to 20th centuries, Black Americans’ experience with education in this country has been traumatic, causing many Black Americans to distrust vocational education, or what is known today as CTE (Schwartz, 2016; Tyler et al., 2021). In the past these paths were filled with Black Americans and did not show the promises of economic growth, but rather kept Black Americans from accessing the same privileges as their counterparts (Anderson, 1994).

Mending the bridge between CTE and the Black community is becoming increasingly important. The workforce is demanding graduates who are technically educated with the skills necessary for their companies; the workforce values the type of credentials students obtain (Policy Leadership Trust, 2022). As conversations continue and develop around economic success it is important to understand the history and experience of the Black community within a system that was not designed with them in mind (Du Bois, 1935/1998). The impact of slavery and Jim Crow has propitiated a lack of understanding regarding CTE and has magnified issues of trust about the value of technical education (Anderson, 1994; Assari, 2018; Berger, 2018). The stigma of CTE is changing, but still presents a stumbling block for some Black American communities (Ferguson et al., 2011; Fleming, 2016; Kandalec, 2016; Policy Leadership Trust, 2022; Schwartz, 2016).

In high schools and community colleges students are told to attend a 4-year institution as doing so will yield a large return on their educational investment and assist them in getting a living wage or escaping poverty. The importance of CTE is slowly beginning to disburse in K–12 and postsecondary circles; however, there are still too many parents and students who do not see CTE as a valuable path (Fleming, 2016). This knowledge gap is even larger for Black American communities (Schwartz, 2016). If more students in the Black community took advantage of CTE at the postsecondary level, there would be a greater opportunity to move the needle of economic mobility and close the skills gap.

Phenomenon of Blackness in Career and Technical Education

The historical context of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois' work is rooted in their belief of what would economically advance Black America (Johnson & Watson, 2004; PBS, n.d.). According to Tyler et al. (2021),

When discussing education of African Americans, it is important to consider the works of W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington. These African American educators of the past provide rich sources of ideas relevant to contemporary Black education, particularly because of the persistence of many problems of the past. W. E. B. Du Bois favored the classical education system while Booker T. Washington strongly promoted vocational education. (p. 48)

Booker T. Washington was born in 1856 in Virginia into institutional slavery. On February 23, 1868, W. E. B. Du Bois was born a free man in Massachusetts (Moore, 2003). Washington believed industrial education was the tool to help Black Americans progress and Du Bois initially believed that it was the work of the Talented Tenth (Johnson & Watson, 2004; Moore, 2003; Shinault, 2014) that would bring about racial uplift. Washington's and Du Bois' philosophies were put against one another and many Black people felt the need to choose camps. This discord was shaped by politics, slavery, segregation, philanthropic contributions, and more (Dunn, 1993; Gardner, 1975; Generals, 2000b). Washington was viewed as an accommodationist because he did not outwardly fight against the oppressive nature of the South. Du Bois was seen as someone who disliked industrial education as a method of retooling and upskilling Black Americans (Brown, 2011; Du Bois, 1903/1995).

Despite the discord, Washington and Du Bois worked together. W. E. B. Du Bois applied to teach at the Tuskegee Institute, which was founded by Washington and built on the principles of industrial education (Moore, 2003). Unlike Washington, Du Bois was able to evolve his research and teaching. He eventually switched from the Talented Tenth to the Guiding Hundredth as a method to help Black people gain economic and social success. The Guiding Hundredth included those individuals who showed the path of the industry of that time and

received an industrial education. History shapes how individuals view the world, and the history of Black education in the United States has shaped how Black Americans view CTE (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Tan, 2014; Tyler et al., 2021).

Theoretical Framework

Economic Success (Human Capital Theory)

Theodore Schultz and Gary Becker developed HCT to examine wealth added to an individual based on labor, skill, and knowledge (Tan, 2014). This theory suggests that “education increases productivity and earnings” (Tan, 2014, p. 412). Grounding this study in HCT helped frame the value that Black Americans see in getting an education to get the necessary skills to increase their earnings. However, for the 21st century workforce, there must be more intentionality when deciding what education to pursue. Tan (2014) stated, “The inflation in the academic degrees has not brought the predicted economic outcomes while churning out overeducation but under skilled or overeducated but underutilized individuals who can barely find a job (p. 430).” Tan cited an Association of Graduate Recruiters report that the increase in the awarding of academic degrees resulted in a lower standards, less credibility in the degree itself, and was dangerous for universities as it weakened their perceived quality. “Consequently,” Tan concluded, “the abundance of educated workforce has led to an increase in the number of graduates getting non graduate jobs” (p. 430).

HCT aids in understanding the value of education within the context of individual skill attainment and labor application. CTE provides an avenue for individuals to gain needed skills for the workforce (Advance CTE, 2018). There is a disconnect between the Black community and the earning potential within CTE. Tan (2014) stated,

A social phenomenon is not a product of individual behaviors; on the contrary, individual behaviors are the products of social, cultural, and environmental factors. That is, there is a set of ideas and values that are above our individual consciousness. They affect and shape our consciousness and create a new set of ideas and values that are different from our own. Methodological collectivists conclude that social phenomena cannot be reducible to the individual alone as the whole is different from the sum of the individual constituents. (p. 414)

Culture (Critical Race Theory)

Culture is a key factor in what shapes Blackness in America. The systemic and oppressive nature of culture shapes how Blackness is seen collectively and individually (Tyler et al., 2021). These cultural tensions are evident in the development of education for Black Americans. Race is a major contributor to the design and implementation for educating Black Americans from the 19th century to the present (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Tyler et al., 2021). Race in education sparked the debate between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois and informs how their legacies are shaped through literature. The philosophers' debate was influenced by culture during the 19th and 20th centuries (Bhambra, 2014; Johnson & Watson, 2004).

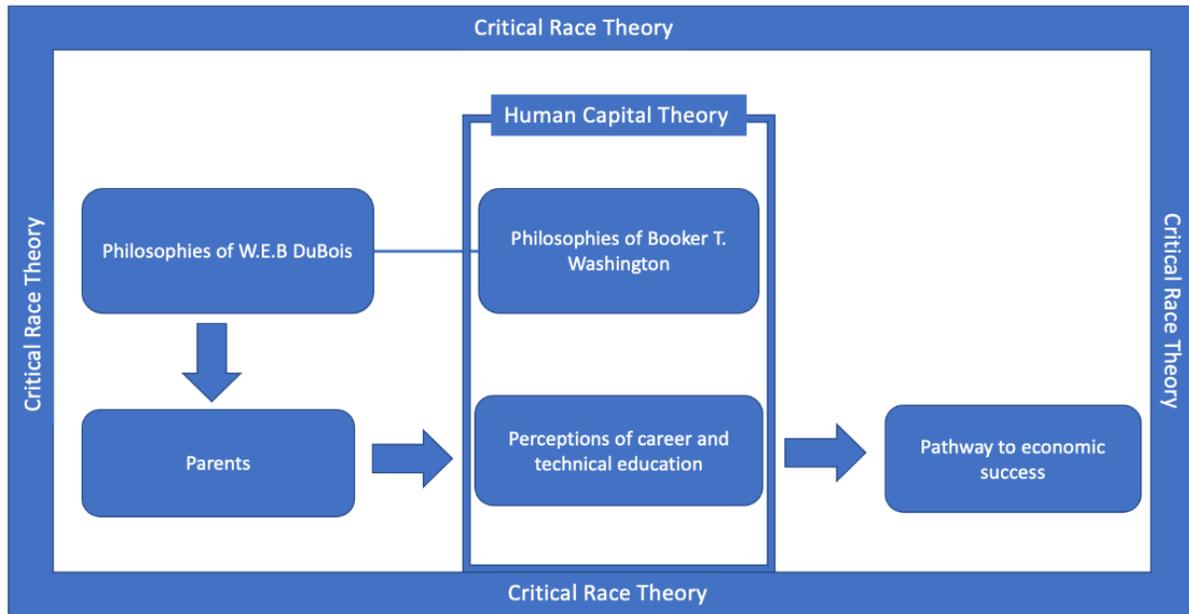
CRT was formulated in the 1970s by Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman, and Richard Delgado. CRT is defined as a “progressive legal movement that seeks to transform the relationship among race, racism, and power” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 171). CRT takes up the issue of races but places it in a broader perspective, such as in the context of education (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017) and assists in understanding that history repeats itself. Even though things have changed, the systems have not changed. “The predicament of social reform ... is that ‘everything must

change at once.’ Otherwise, change is swallowed up by the remaining elements, so that we remain roughly as we were before. Culture replicates itself forever and ineluctably” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 91).

Tyler et al. (2021) presented the five core principles of CRT. As they apply to education, the five principles assist the reader to grasp the relevance of this topic and the stories shared from the participants in this study. According to Tyler et al.,

(1) racism is ordinary, not typical; (2) current bureaucratic systems advance the interests of elites; (3) races are categories that society creates, manipulates, or retires when convenient for the dominant groups; (4) The dominant group categorize minorities at different times convenient to the needs of the majority; and (5) the act of storytelling is crucial for understanding how to create societal change. (p. 49)

Figure 2 provides a visual to display the theoretical framework and hypothesis of this study. CRT suggests that racial systems and systemic oppressions influenced the philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. These same systems are still in existence today and have influenced the perception of CTE among parents (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 1998) . Booker T. Washington is HCT in motion with his advocacy for CTE as a method to gain economic success. Washington’s philosophy helped grounded this study in HCT for the purpose of gaining the skills needed for the workforce (Tan, 2014).

Figure 2*Conceptual Framework***Purpose and Research Questions**

The purpose of this qualitative study was to take an in-depth look at CTE from the perspectives of 21st century parents to determine how they perceive CTE as a path to economic success. This study also sought to better understand the intersectionality between these perspectives and the philosophies of Booker T Washington and W.E.B Du Bois. Using a case design, this study led to answering the following research question and subquestions:

1. How do parents in the 21st century view CTE as a path to economic success in the Black American community?
 - A. How do parents understand CTE?
 - B. What ideals of Booker T. Washington have parents consciously or unconsciously used when advising their students?

- C. What ideals of W.E.B Du Bois have parents consciously or unconsciously used when advising their students?

Methods

A qualitative case study analysis served as the research approach for this study to understand CTE through the lens of 21st century Black parents and how it intersects with the philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. Merriam (1998) suggested that “a case study design is employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved (p. 19). It is a narrative approach that was used to investigate the phenomenon of Black parents, with linkage to American history, and their understanding of CTE as a method of economic success (Butina, 2015). The central aim of a case is to provide a comprehensive and in-depth presentation of one unit or phenomenon (Merriam, 1998, 2002).

Design Overview

It was the desire of the researcher to share this research in a way that would provide meaning and context; therefore, the case study method was chosen. According to Merriam (2002),

The key to understanding qualitative research lies with the idea that meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world. The world, or reality, is not fixed, single, agreed upon, or measurable phenomena that it is assumed to be in positivist, quantitative research. Instead, there are multiple constructions and interpretations of reality that are in flux and that change over time (p. 3).

In this study, the researcher sought to provide context to the perceptions of CTE among Black parents and how the ideologies of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois added to those perceptions. In-depth, one-on-one interviews were conducted so the researcher could get

the best understanding of each parent's view of the topic. The researcher adopted the activity checklist (see Appendix C) for interview protocols (see Appendix D). This refinement framework for the protocol provided the researcher with feedback of questions and flow of interview from objective sources (Castillo-Montoya, 2016). Documentaries were also analyzed to give context to this study; see Appendix E for the Historical Observation Guide.

Data Collection

The purpose of this study was to understand the perceptions of Black American parents with a lineage of American slavery regarding CTE. The lineage to American slavery was important to the historical backdrop that shaped this study in the context of the 21st century. Participants were recruited through a North Carolina State University IRB-approved flier that was shared via social media. The social media platforms included Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. The researcher posted the flier to specific audiences on doctoral Facebook groups. Interested participants were sent a consent form that explained the research, format of interviews, and the time commitment of the interview. Semistructured interviews included the use of an interview guide. Each interview lasted between 30 minutes to 1.5 hours. After each interview, the researcher used Otter. Ai to transcribe the interview and listen for accuracy with the transcription. This allowed the researcher to adjust questions after the interviews and reevaluate questions when needed. This also allowed the participants to provide the researcher with the most genuine answers without pressure from the researcher to get to the next question. The researcher was able to create a flow of natural conversation. A total of 28 questions with probing follow-up questions comprised the interview guide (see Appendix F).

Setting of Research and Selected Participants

Due to restraints imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, the setting of this research was virtual using a Zoom platform. Zoom allows the researcher to hear and at times see the participants. Most of the interviews lasted about 60 minutes. The researcher was able to ask follow-up questions and gain insight into what the participant was sharing about the topic. During the interviews the researcher was able to see facial expressions and hear tones when certain questions were responded to, giving as much of an in-person feel as possible. Thirteen participants agreed to be recorded and interviewed for this study.

Many of the participants of the study were first generation college students with family members who did not complete college or high school. Participants shared that the accomplishment of high school was a high achievement within their families since many of the family members did not attain this status. One parent described, “It was something that was not heard of in my family until my dad only had a seventh grade education.” Another parent shared they were a first generation college student. This parent said,

Oh, yeah, actually, I was the first person in my family to go to college. Yeah, and that’s for my mother and father’s side. So at some point, you know, it became important when I first started, to complete that thing.

There was also conversation about family history with education among parents who participated in this study. One parent stated,

And my grandfather, after I’ve done some research, he was born in 1919. And he had probably a very minimal formal education. Okay, so probably, fourth or fifth grade. And my grandmother, probably a sixth-grade education. But they were hard working people.

As parents shared a little about who they were it gave the researcher an opportunity to establish a comfort level for more conversation. It also gave the researcher insight into the value of education for the parents included in the study. Another thing that was similar between these parents, is all had children between the age of 16 – 24 and some of their children could fall under the definition of an opportunity youth. Belfield et al. (2012) defined opportunity youth by what they are *not* doing: “they are neither accumulating human capital in school or college nor accumulating labor market skills by working (p. 5). This is significant because this group is often disconnected from college and career, also the typical age to get them excited about their future after high school (Bridgeland & Milano, 2012).

Data Analysis and Coding Process

Between each interview the researcher read the transcribed interviews for initial codes. The researcher also took handwritten notes during the interviews that reflected participants’ tone and initial codes that were repeated during the interview. The researcher used NVivo software and coding by hand to analyze the data. Coding involved two cycles: in vivo and structural coding (Saldaña, 2016). According to Saldaña (2016), “in vivo coding is appropriate for virtually all qualitative studies, but particularly for beginning qualitative researchers learning how to code data, and studies that prioritize and honor the participant’s voice” (p. 105). Saldaña described structural coding as “appropriate for virtually all qualitative studies, but particularly for those employing multiple participants, standardized or semistructured data gathering protocols, hypothesis testing, or exploratory investigations to gather topic lists or indexes or major categories or themes” (p. 297).

The researcher conducted 13 interviews resulting in 1,013 codes during the first cycle of in vivo coding. Each participant had between 37 and 119 codes per pass. During structural

coding, the in vivo codes were organized and analyzed per interview question, which helped establish codes based on the questions asked during the interview. Saldaña (2016) stated structural coding uses the interview questions as labels that help the researcher organize data for use in analysis (Saldaña, 2016).

The second cycle of coding included focus coding. Focus coding is best used during the second cycle of coding to assist in “categorizing coded data based on thematic or conceptual similarity. [The researcher] searches for the most frequent or significant initial codes to develop the most salient categories in the data corpus” (Saldaña, 2016, p. 294). This cycle of coding allowed the researcher to review the codes from the structured coding to answer the guiding research questions. Each focused code was reviewed to find the recurring themes that surfaced based on the research question. No research question had the same number of themes.

To assist in the trustworthiness of the findings, all interviews were given the same amount of time, 60 minutes, with room to extend the time if needed. However, some interviews did not last the full 60 minutes because of the pace of the responses. There was also time between each interview for the researcher to reflect on the responses given in the previous interview before continuing to another interview. All interviews used the same platform and transcription method to capture the interview completely. Additionally, the researcher printed out the interview questions for each interview so notes could be taken while conducting the interview. The researcher was also very aware of their position in this research. Through bracketing and journaling the researcher was able to provide a positionality statement (Holmes, 2020).

Positionality Statement

As a Black American, with lineage to American slavery, I understand holding the belief that the best way to move up economically is by getting a college education. I also understand the reality of graduating from a 4-year institution and feeling like there is not a return on investment that was promised by going to a 4-year college. As an adult, I regret that I was not exposed more to CTE and guided in a way that would benefit my personal goals. The weight of college debt and feelings of regret prompted me to wonder why I was not exposed to CTE like my White peers.

I also serve as a CTE and Perkins coordinator. This position affords me the opportunity to see the benefits of CTE. It also allows me to see the demographics of students who take advantage of CTE at the secondary and postsecondary levels. Not seeing Black students take or Black parents encourage this pathway prompted me to ask questions. These questions led to conversations about history and its impact on educating Black children, which eventually inspired me to learn more about the philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. The conviction that comes with being Black in America would not allow me to overlook the harsh realities of the past as they relate to the struggle of Black Americans in the United States. However, I wanted to do it in a way that honored the past, shed light on current perspectives, and could give insight for the future.

Findings

This study sought to answer one research question and three subquestions. Through the data analyzing and coding process several themes emerged to answer the research question and subquestions. It is important to note that two large themes emerged from this study and were found in responses to every interview question: (1) entrepreneurship and (2) representation.

These larger themes will be summarized further at the end of the findings.. Table 5 gives a quick synopsis of the finding for this study with more discussion in the paragraphs that follow.

Table 5

Research Question and Associated Themes

| Research Question and Subquestion | Theme |
|---|---|
| Research Question: How do parents in the 21st century view CTE as a path to economic success in the Black American community? | legacy, community, entrepreneurship, and representation |
| Subquestion A: How do parents understand CTE? | trades and foundational experience & exposure |
| Subquestion B: What ideals of Booker T. Washington have parents consciously or unconsciously used when advising their students? | industrial education |
| Subquestion C: What ideals of W. E. B. Du Bois parents they consciously or unconsciously used when advising their students? | the table |

In the beginning of the interviews a foundational definition of economic success was established between the researcher and the parents. It was necessary for the researcher to understand the parents' desire for themselves and their students as they began to have conversations around CTE and the history of CTE in the Black community. Two major themes around economic success centered this study, *legacy* and *community*. Parents believed economic success is the ability to leave an inheritance behind and set their students up for the future. Parents also believed in the ability to help others without being a burden on themselves.

Legacy

One parent described their desire to leave an inheritance for their children:

I want to leave an inheritance, you know, for my children and for my children's children. You know, ... there are ways to do that. Now, that just requires a lot of discipline, a lot of planning, and, you know, making smart moves.

This participant, like many others, felt that legacy was important when thinking about economic success. Another parent added that being "steward conscious, right, that actually sets you up for your future is what economic success means to me." This steward consciousness did not always equate to money between participants but also the chosen career pursuit or passion. Parents defined economic success as the ability to provide for the family in life and death. One parent commented, "If I leave this earth to be able to leave something behind for my kids. And not only just money, but to leave knowledge behind so they can, you know, pour into other people."

Community

The second major theme that parents shared related to economic success was community as a whole. This idea of "each one, teach one" was shared by one parent when they discussed their definition of economic success. One participant even described the motivation of the community when it comes to economic success:

Well, I think we as African Americans because we, you know ... to the thing that's to our credit is, we are probably more and more community minded, and more emotionally motivated people, right. And it's just balancing that with, you know, some sense of direction and concrete contribution. ... We prioritize the emotion and community above those, the success, I do not get that White people do the same thing.

Another parent shared that economic success goes beyond the ability to own but ownership turns into being able to help others in their time of need. This parent stated,

You know, we also have rental properties. So just being able to maintain those, being able to be a blessing to others, if need be, when you know, especially like with the rental properties. And they're not, they come upon hard times, that sort of thing that we're in, you know. Something where we still need you to pay, you know, that's it.

Many of the parents felt that economic success was about having enough to sustain their families and also about having enough to give others. Economic success also looked like the ability to pass on knowledge, such as financial literacy to build “generational building and wealth” that would impact the community.

Subquestion A

Subquestion A asked: “How do parents understand CTE?” Parents participating in this study understood CTE overall from a very minimal level. Often the depth of CTE needed to be explained during the interview. Parents expressed that CTE is a benefit for students but still saw it through the lens of a “back-up” plan. One parent shared,

I don't know if I'm going to answer this right. So I don't want you to give me the answer. I don't want you to define it. But I'm thinking of long-term careers and technical education as something that you want to have under your wing or just something on the side that, you may not necessarily like it, but it's like a trade.

While they did see CTE as a “plan B” option, there were other major themes that surfaced providing clarity on parents' understanding of CTE. These themes were trades and foundational experience and exposure.

Trades

When parents were asked about CTE it was clear they understood it as mostly the trades. Examples of HVAC, plumbing, or cosmetology were often used. One parent shared their experience when they were in high school:

In my high school that I graduated from in New Jersey, they had some similar things they will have. They would be working alongside like a local shop; actually on someone's car. Learning that way, getting the hands on that way.

Some participants used their understanding of CTE to stress how important it is to economic success. One participant shared,

And so people's services and trades and stuff like that are very important. And so I think they're a huge part of economic success, not just for you, I mean. There's a product or service that's being offered, we need it. So I think they all work together in tandem.

There was also this understanding that CTE prepares individuals for a certain skill in an industry and has the potential of giving students a head start after graduation. One parent shared, Honestly, I mean, I think it's a good program that allows the kids to learn a basic trade while they're in school. So when they graduate from high school, they're already a step up. They have certification. I mean, I don't see anything wrong with that.

Foundational Experience and Exposure

Advance CTE (2018) defines CTE as “an educational option that provides learners with the knowledge, experience and skills they need to be prepared for college and career. CTE gives purpose to learning by emphasizing real-world skills and practical knowledge within a selected career focus” (para. 1). The participants in this study saw CTE as a way to provide experience

and exposure to their students, but understood that their perception of that exposure is limited.

One participant shared,

I think it's broader than I could imagine. It may not...I can imagine that it's those things that help people who are in education, find their career paths, match their goals, with their career paths, with their master skills, with potential opportunities, they may be in the workforce, or maybe in the maybe in the economic world where they could just really position themselves well, but that's, that's pretty much the gist of what I what I know about.

Most of the parents in this study did not have a child they could, with confidence, say participated in CTE; however, one parent shared the experience and exposure that her son received while participating in CTE. She stated,

I would say, I know a little bit about CTE, because my son, [redacted name], took that path because he did the Tesla program, and he ended up graduating with an Associate of Arts, but with automotive technology. He's done very well for himself. He lives in Tennessee. So I would say his experience kind of opened my eyes more about technical education.

One parent shared their excitement after they were exposed to a classroom on a college campus and observed all that students were able to learn in the classroom. This parent expressed the need for this type of learning for people who share different learning styles:

I love it. So since I got a tour of an institution's transportation area, Oh, my gosh, I was absolutely blown away. Because everybody can't learn from a book. I'm a hands-on person. You let me put my hands on it, I got it. But if you just get me a book and tell me

to go home and read it ... I'm gonna be like, okay, but I have to touch what I'm reading and then it syncs for me.

Participants were excited about the opportunities that CTE provides in early exposure for students and helping them experience and explore the different career options. In many of the interviews, parents shared they wished they had opportunities like this when they were in high school or college. CTE would have given them more options. One parent shared,

Man, I wish somebody would have directed me towards HVAC when I was a kid. Just, I'd be making more money than I'm making now if I had HVAC business. And so, it's, I think it depends on what the person wants to do, what their, what they want to do, and what they feel like their economic, their goals or economic success are.

Subquestion B

Subquestion B asked: "What ideals of Booker T. Washington have parents consciously or unconsciously used when advising their students?" It was important to have a conversation about Booker T. Washington because of his impact in CTE and the larger impact that he had on the education of Black Americans (Moore, 2003). Some participants knew this history very well; others recalled the name but did not know the entire impact of Washington's work. His founding of Tuskegee Institute was well known among the participants; however, parents were less familiar with the principles of Tuskegee and industrial education. There were acknowledgments around past practices and decisions still impacting educational decisions in 2021. For example, one parent stated,

I really believe it's a lot more unconscious that, that's been passed on, then. Because even some of the conscious things were passed on because of unconscious practices. Things

that we practice, but we didn't even know why we were practicing it. It was just something we were doing.

Industrial Education

Some parents did not agree that industrial skills or industrial education should come first. In some of the parents' responses there was a negative connection to the idea of doing industrial work or being able to connect the dots between industrial work in the 19th century and CTE in the 21st century. One parent shared,

I don't agree with it. I think that what should come first is whatever we give our hands to. I guess I can't necessarily see that we would have one route. I think that we can do anything. So you know, industrial. Okay, that's great. But we don't have to do industrial work. Some of us are geniuses in math and science.

It was interesting that this parent did not see that math and science could be part of the "industrial work" that students may be experiencing. This same parent also added,

I don't know. I don't know if it should come first. Um, I know, it may come easier. I don't know if it should come first. I noticed some people may take to it faster. Because it's working with your hands versus using your brain muscle, you know. So some people may say, I would rather work with my hands than work with my brain. ... So I guess that all depends on the person. And for me to sit here and say that it's Black people would be, I don't know, I don't feel like I want to say yes to that. I don't want to say that, that I don't want to sell my people short like that.

The translation of industrial education to CTE did not compute in a way that registered the evolution of this format of education as beneficial to a student or possibly the best option for the student because of phrases like "sell my people short" or "some of us are geniuses in math

and science.” However, when asked how related to career success many parents felt CTE is, one parent explained,

It relates directly to it. Because if you have an education or a background in something technically related, then you’ll always have something to fall back on. You’ll always have a jumpstart on what you’re trying to do. And you’ll always have that foundation to, I guess, springboard into the next level.

Subquestion C

Subquestion C asked, “What ideals of W. E. B. Du Bois have parents consciously or unconsciously used in advising their students?” The contributions of W. E. B. Du Bois were known when participants were asked to share what they knew about him. Parents knew of the founding of the NAACP and his contributions to the advocacy against the disenfranchisement of Black Americans (Moore, 2003). When asked about the Talented Tenth, many parents had the same realization that Du Bois evolved to when he transitioned from the ideology of the Talented Tenth to the Guiding Hundredth (Alridge, 1999; Shinault, 2014). One parent shared,

What the Talented Tenth is going to do. They’re going to protect their interest in being the Talented Tenth. ... The Talented Tenth will get a seat for themselves at the table. But when they get a seat at the table. ... And the question is, will the Talented Tenth, will that group uplift to pull other Black people into the same space? Or will they protect their position in that space?

Parents had concerns about the idea of one section of the Black community speaking for the masses who may not have had the same shared experiences. One parent commented,

Just because those 10 are at the table that doesn't mean they're gonna pull the next Black person up with them. I just feel like people who are very highly educated look down on people who don't measure up to them versus education-wise.

The Table

There was agreement that the table still exists and that cultural White men have maintained control. Parents agreed there are too many decisions being made for Black people without their input. One participant explained,

Again, I do, and I still think they make too many decisions for all of us. Their decisions aren't really for us. It's more for their friends; billionaires are going to make sure that their billionaire friends are well taken care of.

However, there was much discussion on the possibilities of what the table could look like in the 21st century. Parents discussed that the table does not need to be the 10% of Black Americans that hold a certain status or position. For example, one parent shared the impact that the COVID-19 pandemic could have on the needs of the community and those representing at certain tables:

However, in a pandemic, the Talented Tenth are those that will put their life on the line for the betterment of mankind. So suddenly, the layman worker, that plumber, that doc, not even that doctor, but that EMS worker, that nurse ... suddenly, they're the ones that're making the sacrifice, especially in this pandemic. And they're the ones that are being celebrated. That school teacher ... but that doesn't exclude the politician; that doesn't exclude the doctor. They're elite in status. In the eyes of, well, let's just say they're elite status. But that's not the only status that matters in this day and time.

This comment and comments from other parents highlight the need for diversity in many settings when it comes to making changes on behalf of the Black community. Parents stressed an understanding of diverse perspectives and education while at the same time promoting unity.

But I don't think that you need the highest education of people sitting at the table. ... Flip side of that coin is ... okay, we get our own table, and then it's like, you don't want to let anybody else sit down. Like, we're not trying to have our own form of segregation going on here. ... I don't think there's more than one table, if the table that I'm sitting at is diverse enough.

Research Question

The research question for this study was, "How do parents in the 21st century view career and technical education as a path to economic success in the Black American community?"

Findings revealed that Black parents view CTE as a path to economic success; however, the concern was to what extent does CTE help within the systematic and oppressive nature of this country toward Black Americans. One parent expressed their apprehensions by sharing,

I think it could help. But do I think it would help in a way to put Black people ahead? Because those aren't the jobs that they're putting ... that's making the money like that. I feel like those are the jobs that are far for people who work who have 9 to 5 jobs. I don't feel like... I think of a technical or vocational career...I think of a blue collar, like a blue-collar job. And I may be wrong. But when I, for the most part, that's what I think. And I'm like, Okay, well, those type of jobs. Yeah, you can get a good technical job, become a mechanic, or become, you know, you can own a shop, but how, how far will that success take you? And how will that move the Black people needle forward? I'm saying, like, economics, how would a Black person's economic success needle move?

Another parent shared the generational struggle and how it impacts the thoughts within the Black community toward the path to economic success: “It goes from generation to generation because things get worse from generation to generation. And people’s lives are shaped around those types of thoughts and processes.”

Along with the generation of oppressions that are handed down comes the lingering effects of the history of slavery in America that continue to add to the education systems. One parents shared their thoughts around slavery and its intended goal:

I mean, the goal from slavery was to, for us to be oppressed. So that never ended.

Although slavery ended, oppression has never ended. So until there’s no oppression, I mean, it’s going to continue into and throughout the future.

It was clear that parents liked the idea of what CTE could provide as a path to economic success but perceived the oppressive nature of society toward Black Americans makes it challenging to achieve this success regardless of the path chosen.

Overarching Themes

The themes of representation and entrepreneurship ran throughout this study. Parents saw CTE as a path to entrepreneurship and articulated the importance of representation when it comes to encouraging a student to choose a career. One parent shared their experience when they were able to see others who looked like them succeeding:

It was that I saw ... it was an Afro-American attorney, and I saw how much money this dude made, and you know, and he had gold-plated fixtures on his shower. I wanted that kind of lifestyle. I wanted to be able to, to have, to be a millionaire, you know, to have that kind of money at my disposal.

This same parent shared how they changed their major in college after spending a summer in Washington, DC with a family member:

I was a finance major when I started, but I didn't know why I was a finance major, I knew I wanted to be a businessperson. Finance seemed like something good to choose. Well, I spent the summer working. Doing installation and warehouse work in Washington, DC with my uncle. And I'm looking in the Washington Post. I saw in finance, there was one column for finance. But there were three pages for accounting. I changed my major that summer because it was like, well, why am I in finance? If the jobs are in accounting why am I in finance?

Another parents went into detail about the limited representation that exists in the space of entrepreneurship within the Black community. This parent stressed the need for diversity of products and services within the entrepreneurial space. The parent stated,

That group, they don't have a lot of role models. You want to move to the next place, but they don't, they don't know. The models that are before them are basketball players, football players, and rappers. And so those are the successes, those are the successful people that they see. And as an Afro-American parent, that's where I think, one of the difficulties where, I don't think White people understand how innately, they're built for success, when there's somebody in their family that has their own business, trucking business, or whatever doing something. When very rarely, in the African American community, it's almost a rarity. If you meet someone in Afro-American community that has their own business, doing something that's besides hair, nails, or multi-level marketing it is a rarity.

Parents were adamant about the importance of the impact that entrepreneurship and representation can have within the Black community as there begins to be a shift toward CTE. They expressed that they would have made different choices pertaining to college and career had they seen people like them in different sectors of the workforce and practicing entrepreneurship. However, not knowing their options or having people in their lives that could help them made it difficult for them to visualize their own success.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to find out how Black parents view CTE as a path to economic success. Through semistructured interviews and a review of historical documentaries, the findings offer perspective through the lens of history (Merriam, 1998). While there have been several studies involving CTE, this study gave the perspective of Black parents. Over all, this study found that Black parents see CTE as a pathway to economic success; however, culture and history has made it difficult for Black Americans to see the representation of that success. The review of literature revealed this is first study that truly asked Black parents what they understand about CTE and how this understanding intersects with the philosophies of Du Bois and Washington. The research question and subquestions were designed to discover whether Black parents see CTE as a pathway to economic success and the conscious and subconscious influence of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois on their decisions and the influence they give their children toward educational choices.

Economic Success

The parents in this study saw CTE as a pathway to economic success but stressed the importance of exposure to these pathways at a young age (Fleming, 2016; Washington, 1903). The importance of legacy and community were identified as tools that could assist in building

the generational wealth that would help their families capture true economic success (Anderson, 1994). A key strength of this study was that it highlighted the limited definition parents had of CTE and how CTE translates into the workforce. The parents in this study had limited understanding of CTE. Most parents thought CTE is limited to trades and classes that expose students to trades and give them practice in applying those trades. This confirms much of the literature in the field, that one of the biggest hindrances in seeing the value of CTE is truly understanding how it has evolved beyond the vocational education models of the past (Advance CTE, 2021; Bailey et al., 2015; Fleming, 2016). Understanding the evolution of CTE is important in the Black community to help address the economic gaps that continue to grow between Black individuals and their White counterparts (Boston, 1997; Chetty, Hendren, Kline, Saez, & Turner, 2014).

The study highlighted the value of ownership or entrepreneurship among Black parents and how it is viewed as a way to achieve economic success for generations. This finding corresponds with the philosophy of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. Parents identified the establishment of Black-owned businesses that meet the needs of the community and set their families up for success (Anderson, 1994; Boston, 1997; Du Bois, 1903; Washington, 1903). Knowing that entrepreneurship is a value to the Black community gives the field a tool to better explain the ways CTE can be a path to a great job and also a springboard to entrepreneurship.

Conscious and Subconscious

Another key strength of this study was the historical lens that it provided when speaking with parents to understand how the philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois have shaped their perspective of CTE in the 21st century. Parents in this study had a hard time

connecting that the industrial education Washington referred to has now evolved to CTE. However, they held the perspective of Du Bois in that the table originally shaped by the Talented Tenth should lend itself more to the Guiding Hundredth (Shinault, 2014). Parents in this study highlighted the benefit of CTE while at the same time contradicted themselves by highlighting the struggles of pursuing certain educations while being Black in America (Fletcher, 2014; Johnson & Watson, 2004; Levy, 2016; Moore, 2003).

Need for Representation

Another trending theme that this study confirmed is the need for representation. While this is not a new revelation when it comes to the field of education, it is important to reaffirm the importance of representation (Dennis & Hudson, 2007). Parents in this study noted the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic and how focus has shifted toward other professions. Parents understood the impact this shift will have on the choices their students make and the conversations they have with their children around careers. The ability to see Black Americans in all professions will help bring awareness to different career paths and the economic success they can bring to the community (Decker , 2021; Shinault, 2014).

Theoretical Framework

CRT and HCT were used to ground this study around the hypothesis presented in the conceptual framework. The findings in this study suggest that CRT and HCT have implications in the way parents perceive CTE as a pathway to economic success. Parents in this study helped give language to the frameworks used in this study. One parent shared a story about their mother's journey. The mother took the career and technical path and that decision made an impact on his decision-making in the future. The parent shared,

My mother graduated from beauty school. And all she could do was hair. She couldn't own a beauty shop. She couldn't. She couldn't, you know, there were just so many things. So many ceilings that she faced. I saw her always having to pay booth rent, always taking advantage of being dependent on a person. But she had a giving heart so she would do anything. She always had to buy her products. And she always had to take what family would give her for some amazing Jheri curls. I just saw her just being limited to how far she could go. And it was because, again, she jumped out there after receiving that degree. And I equated that to a community college degree. I'm always gonna be a servant. There's nothing wrong with servanthood. But I'm always going to be a servant, a new age servant to someone, I'm always going to be fixing somebody's toilet, I'm always going to be unclogging somebody's pipe, I'm always going to be rewiring somebody else's stuff. And I just didn't see myself as being able to own the plumbing company, the HVAC company. It just seems short-sighted as to where I could go with a 2-year degree but a 4-year degree was totally different.

This study attempted to use CRT to speak to the cultural impact of American history in relationship to Black Americans related to decision making to not choose CTE as a path to economic success. CRT makes the case that racism is entangled within the fabric of American culture and "thus the strategy becomes one of unmasking and exposing racism in its various permutations" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 11). The experiences of these parents also centered HCT as a framework for this study. All the parents saw education as a necessary investment to gain access to economic success; however, oppression was also seen as a barrier to getting to the level of their White counterparts. It was important for the parents to expose their students to the best opportunities that would put them in a position to deal with oppression and still succeed.

It is the history of W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington that provide the historical insight into the implications of history with Black Americans. It was important to address the philosophies of Du Bois and Washington within the framework as parents addressed the conscious and unconscious impact of their work in the Black community.

Implications for Policy and Practice

This section includes the implications for policy and practice. The implications from this case study highlight the need for inclusive language, diversity in decision makers, and representation throughout the field of CTE. This study seeks to provide practitioners with tangible things they can immediately apply.

Implication for Practice #1: Language Used Within Career and Technical Education

Language and vocabulary can be a barrier to understanding CTE. Adding language to the field of CTE that is inclusive of the Black experience can minimize barriers and provide a better understanding of the field. The findings of this study demonstrated that participants understood CTE when it was presented in a language they could understand and that related to their experiences. This minor adjustment could help provide a broader understanding of CTE that does not only include the trades but all the other industry sectors.

Implication for Practice #2: Diversity Among People Making Decisions About Career and Technical Education

The metaphoric table that W. E. B. Du Bois (1903) discussed in his research is still perceived among Black parents. Diversifying this table is essential to how CTE is perceived among Black parents. Making sure that the leadership in the field of CTE reflects the communities that it serves is necessary. It is necessary to have people who understand the

community through experience making policy decisions and other decisions that affect CTE at all levels of government, workforce boards, and educational institutions.

Implication for Practice #3: Representation of Black People in CTE

Ensuring representation in CTE helps Black communities see how the path leads to economic success. Representation can be reflected in the literature, curriculum, guest speakers, industry partners, and other influences in CTE. It is important that Black Americans see the full path that CTE can offer them.

Recommendations for Future Research

This section includes the recommendations for future research that emerged from this study. These recommendations focus on further understanding the Black parent perspective, getting the Black student voice, and understanding the culture and language of the Black community through the CTE lens. Adding this research, to the field of CTE, will provide more understanding of how to attract and serve the Black community.

Recommendations for Future Research #1: Study Black Parents who Attend Historically Black Colleges and Universities

It is recommended to conduct a study on parents who attended HBCUs to gain an understanding of their perception of CTE as a path to economic success. HBCU graduates' perspective matters because of history and how much HBCUs are crucial to the higher education system in educating Black students. It would be interesting to understand their outlook toward CTE and its significance in the foundation of HBCUs.

***Recommendations for Future Research #2: Understand the Black students' Perspective
Toward CTE***

Getting the student perspective on CTE is very important. A study in which Black students who have chosen CTE as a path of education are invited to share would add to the field. Such research would promote an understanding of their experience and why this was the path they chose. Hearing the voices of students always provides the field with information to better serve future students. Having the Black voice could help with retaining and completing Black students in CTE.

***Recommendations for Future Research #3: Language and Cultural Barriers for the Black
Community***

One recommendation for future research involves studying the language and cultural barriers to CTE. Such a study would be helpful to the implementation of inclusiveness in the field. While there is an implementation for practice, studying language could provide more understanding into the culture within the Black community and aid in being intentional about collecting language that truly speaks to the Black community.

Conclusion

The perspectives of Black parents are important as the fight continues for a diverse, inclusive, and equitable workforce. Their experiences and relationships to their students helps foster trust for CTE as a valuable pathway for Black students to reach economic success. It is necessary to have parental commitment to exposing students to various opportunities. It is with this partnership between parents that CTE could become more recognizable for generations to come and provide guidance to CTE educators about Blackness in this field.

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Chapter 6: Putting It All Together: Summary, Implications for Practice, and Recommendations for Future Research

Summary

The compilation of manuscripts presented in this dissertation were designed to present a discussion of history with application to the present and future. The goal was to provide a view of the Black perspective as it pertains to CTE. This compilation offers a necessary perspective as K–12, colleges, and the workforce are discussing equity, diversity, inclusion, economic mobility, and the skills gap. It is challenging to make the best decisions for Black students when their perspective is not known or elicited. The hope is that these manuscripts can be used as tools that create a space of understanding and compassion when discussing Blackness in the space of CTE. It is also the hope that this research expands knowledge of history and its impact on current ideals and decision-making within the Black community. The following research questions guided this process:

1. How has the philosophy of Booker T. Washington influenced Black American communities' perception of CTE by existing literature?
2. How has the philosophy of W.E.B. Du Bois influenced Black American communities' perception of CTE by existing literature?
3. How do parents in the 21st century view CTE as a path to economic success in the Black American community?

The first and second manuscripts were written to immerse the reader in the work of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois by highlighting how their lives shaped the paths they pursued. The third manuscript told the stories of Black parents and their perception of CTE as a path to economic mobility. It was important to bring history into these conversations and

determine the level of impact that these two scholars are having in the Black community. Some things were apparent through the manuscripts: (a) education is important, and (b) representation matters.

As I immersed myself in the work of Washington and Du Bois, I quickly realized that the education of the Black community was important to both gentlemen. Part of the push for education was because of the pressure on Black society during that time and the other part was so that the Black community could begin to have their own freedom to contribute to their families so that this freedom would always be an option. The accomplishments of Washington and Du Bois changed generations and the way that Black people would experience education forever. This was evident in the founding of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute by Booker T. Washington and the sociology research and contributions through practice by W. E. B. Du Bois (Bauerlein, 2004; Brown, 2011; Moore, 2003). Their passion for the community was manipulated by the culture, through politics, but the hope is that this study can amend the conversation of their relationship (Reynolds & Kendi, 2020). Washington and Du Bois saw CTE as the key to economic mobility and this is also true for the participants in this research. One parent voiced,

Career technical education? Yeah. Yeah, I think so. Um, because there are a lot of different positions that are needed in the workforce, in any type of environment. Whether you have your modern-day Black Wall Street, or just the world we live in, um, under the systems that we are still fighting against today, we still need those that are both important for economic success.

Through literature and the case study, the need for representation was affirmed often. This representation was necessary when schools were desegregated in the South and today as

educators advise Black students to pursue CTE as a pathway for economic success (Dennis, 1998; Du Bois, 1935/1998). This representation is important to help Black students see examples of people who have chosen CTE and have been able to move economically. As a researcher, it was helpful to hear participants ask about and speak to the need for mentors who can be added to the athletes and musicians as role models. Participants stated representation today is one-sided but having diverse career fields of representation would broaden the scope of what economic success in the Black community can look like.

Lastly, HCT and CRT were the theoretical frameworks of this study to frame the connection between systematic oppression and economic success through the lens of Black parents. One parent shared,

I can't have that conversation as a Black mother to a Black son going out in this world no longer under my wing or the wing of his, his father. without mentioning our history and what he's up against and helping him. That was the hardest part, helping him to realize the weight of the systems that he's preparing himself to go out there and, and work up against.

As the researcher, it was important to have theoretical frameworks that spoke to the individual return on investment when gaining the proper skills (Tan, 2014) for success, but also to understand that shaping the framework for the Black community it is not as simple (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). These theories centered the work of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and the voices of the participants to create new understanding about CTE.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The findings in these studies provide several implications for practice. In Manuscript One the implications for practice included (a) participation in CTE—history requires the education

system to demonstrate changed behavior in reasoning of placing Black students in CTE classes; (b) representation in policy—it is important to make decisions about Black students with input from the Black community so that policy can reflect the needs of Black students; (c) amplification of Booker T. Washington—Washington needs to be added to the history books as the founder of CTE.

In Manuscript Two the implications for practice included (a) reevaluation of Du Boisian philosophy—the evolution of Du Bois’ work changes the narrative that he was against CTE; (b) culturally relevant teaching—representation matters; and (c) Guiding Hundredth—more conversation around Du Bois’ concept of the Guiding Hundredth in addition to the Talented Tenth should be in the history books.

In Manuscript Three the implications for practice included (a) language—having more inclusive language could minimize barriers in understanding CTE for the Black community; (b) diversity—make sure the individuals making decisions about CTE reflect the students who are served; and (c) representation—display the benefits of CTE using individuals who reflect all students. Each manuscript’s implication for practice builds on or confirms the others. The implications from Manuscript Three reflect similar implications in Manuscripts One and Two, amplifying the voices of the participants in a way that is in line with history and direction for the future.

Theoretical Framework

This research was conducted through the lens of a Black woman in the field of CTE. It took a new approach to a history topic that has been researched but not in a way that highlights the contributions of W. E. B. Du Bois to the field of CTE. The integrative literature reviews sought to position Booker T. Washington’s and W. E. B. Du Bois’ work as not competitive but

parallel for the betterment of Black America. The goal was to celebrate their differences and highlight their similarities. It was also to acknowledge that the men were more similar than different in their goals, even though their methods were different. Through literature it was understood that the difference between the two philosophers was how they navigated the politics of emancipation and Jim Crow. The hope of this research was to start a new narrative about Washington and Du Bois' relationship so there can be continuous conversation about their contributions to CTE.

The qualitative case study was conducted to understand the perceptions of Black parents toward CTE as a path to economic mobility. The findings in this study added Black voices to the field for the first time. This study added diversity to who has contributed to research in this field. There was not much research found on Black parents and their thoughts about CTE. However, this research allowed a platform for their thoughts and hopes for their children to be heard. The study adds a different perspective in the conversation of equity, diversity, and inclusion as the field of CTE works hard to attract students of different backgrounds. Overall, this case study contributes to the growing literature of Black voices in the broad field of education and workforce.

Recommendations for Future Research

The findings and implications of these studies resulted in several recommendations for future research. The recommendations for research in Manuscript One are (a) discover the contributions of other Black educators; (b) inventory the best practices of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute that can contribute to CTE in the 21st century; and (c) examine the global impact of the Tuskegee Model. The recommendations for research in Manuscript Two are (a) understand how elitism has impacted the perception of CTE; (b) discover how the concept of the

Talented Tenth has impacted applications to HBCUs; and (c) assess if Double Consciousness or Pan-Africanism has impacted whether Black Americans participate in CTE. The recommendations for research in Manuscript Three are (a) get the perspective of parents who attended an HBCU on CTE; (b) understand the Black student perspective on CTE; and (c) study the language and cultural barriers that prevent the Black community from pursuing CTE. These recommendations will allow for continued insight from the Black community around the phenomenon of CTE. The topics here search out subgroups with the Black community. The Black community is not a monolith, so it is important to get perspective and insight from other subgroups with varied perspectives.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Literature Review Matrix (Booker T. Washington)

History Doesn't Decided for Us: A Case Study of Black Parents and their Perception of Career and Technical Education with an In-depth Look at the Philosophies of Booker T.

Washington and W.E.B Du Bois

| Author (s) | Title | Year | Type of Article/Study | RQ: How has the philosophy of Washington influenced Black American communities' perception of career and technical education? | Pros | Cons |
|------------|-------|------|-----------------------|---|------|------|
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Appendix B

Literature Review Matrix (W. E. B. Du Bois)

History Doesn't Decided for Us: A Case Study of Black Parents and their Perception of Career and Technical Education with an In-depth Look at the Philosophies of Booker T.

Washington and W.E.B Du Bois

| Author (s) | Title | Year | Type of Article/Study | RQ: How has the philosophy of Du Bois influenced Black American communities' perception of career and technical education? | Pros | Cons |
|------------|-------|------|-----------------------|--|------|------|
| | | | | | | |
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Appendix C

Activity Checklist for Reviewing Interview Protocol

History Doesn't Decided for Us: A Case Study of Black Parents and their Perception of
Career and Technical Education with an In-depth Look at the Philosophies of Booker T.

Washington and W.E.B Du Bois

Read questions aloud and mark 'yes' or 'no' for each item present in the interview protocol.

Provide addition feedback for items in need of improvement.

| Aspects of an Interview | Yes | No | Feedback |
|---|-----|----|----------|
| <i>Interview Protocol Structure</i> | | | |
| Beginning questions are present and introductory in nature | | | |
| Interview is made up of mostly key questions and are in the middle | | | |
| Closing questions are reflective and provide participant and opportunity to share additional information and comments | | | |
| A brief script is woven through out protocol to provide a smooth transition between topic areas | | | |
| Researcher closes interview expressing gratitude and provides follow up | | | |
| Overall, interview is organization and promotes genuine conversational flow | | | |
| <i>Writing of Interview Questions & Statements</i> | | | |
| Questions and statements are free from grammatical and spelling error(s) | | | |
| Only one question is asked at a time | | | |
| Most questions ask participants to describe experiences and feelings | | | |
| Questions of clear and open-ended | | | |
| Questions answer the research question and sub-questions | | | |
| Questions are written in a non-judgmental manner | | | |
| <i>Length of protocol</i> | | | |
| Interview consist of only the necessary questions (no fillers) | | | |
| Questions/statements are concise | | | |
| <i>Comprehension</i> | | | |
| Questions/statements do not consist of academic language | | | |
| Questions/statements are easy to understand | | | |

Adapted from Castillo-Montoya, M. (2016). Preparing for interview research: The interview protocol refinement framework. The Qualitative Report, 21(5), 811-831. Retrieved from <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol21/iss5/2> – pg. 825

Appendix D

Interview Protocol (Parent Interview)

History Doesn't Decided for Us: A Case Study of Black Parents and their Perception of Career and Technical Education with an In-depth Look at the Philosophies of Booker T.

Washington and W.E.B Du Bois

To start interview, researcher will get the informed consent signed. Researcher will thank the parents for participating in the interview and remind them that the data collected will remain confidential. Interview will provide an estimation of the length of the interview and remind the co-researcher that they have the right to withdraw from the study at any point during the process.

- Greet co-researcher
 - How are you? Thank you for participating.
 - Reintroduce the researcher
- Review purpose of the study, interview, and next steps after the interview
- Instructions for parent:
 - Participation in this interview is voluntary. You may choose to not participate at any time; this includes days after the interview. If you decide you no longer want to participate, please contact the researcher. There will be no repercussions for withdrawing from the study.
 - This interview will be recorded.
 - This interview will last about 60 minutes. When approaching 60 mins, interviewer will ask if it is ok to continue after time.
- Confidentiality:

- This recording will remain confidential. Parent is welcomed to us a Pseudonym once recording starts.
- Answer any questions from parent on protocol
- Conduct interview
- Discuss next steps:
 - Parent is able to reach out to researcher with any remaining questions or wanting further information about the study.
 - Parent is welcome to request a copy of findings once study is complete.
- Closing
 - Expression of gratitude
 - If there are any questions or concerns, please reach out to researcher.

Interview Protocol

Opening Questions

1. Tell me about yourself.
 - a. Children ages
 - b. Personal education
 - c. Career/work history
 - d. How would you describe your education journey?
2. Please describe how often you discuss college with your child(ren).
3. What does getting a college education mean to you and your family?

Probe: who was the first person do go to college in your family?
4. Could you describe how the expectation of life after high school was described to you?

Probe: what about to your generation?
5. Share with me a time where you may have been grateful for the educational choices you made.
6. Share with me a time where you may have been disappointed with the educational choices you made.
7. What are some of your future education goals? What educational goals do you have for your children?
8. What are some of your career goals? What career goals do you have for your children?

RQ: How do parents in the 21st century view CTE as a path to economic success in the Black American community?
9. Describe what economic success looks like to you.

Sub-question: How do parents understand career and technical education?

10. What do you know about career and technical education?

11. How do you feel about career and technical education? Does career and technical education help with economic success?

12. What career and technical education classes is/has your child(ren) participated in?

Probe: If they have participated in CTE what was that experience like for you and/or them?

13. Describe how career and technical education relates to career success.

14. Based on what you know about career and technical education, would rather your child(ren) to get a 4 year degree versus a 2 year degree? Why? Why not?

Sub-question: What ideals of Booker T. Washington have parents consciously or unconsciously used when advising their students?

15. Tell me what you know about Booker T. Washington.

Probe: if they know about him...what do you like or do not like about his teaching?

16. Do you agree or disagree with this statement “industrial education should come first so that black people can gain useful skills”. Why do you agree or disagree with this statement?

17. Do you feel like black people have made a lot of progress economically?

Probe: what will it take for us to move up economically?

18. How do you think segregation and racial turmoil has effect black people in getting ahead in education and economically?

19. How would you feel if your child(ren) took a specific career course at the local community college where they can get dual credit?

Follow-up: if child(ren) is in college how would feel about them participating in a apprenticeship program or something similar?

Subquestion: What ideals of W.E.B. Du Bois have parents consciously or unconsciously used in advising their students?

20. Tell me what you know about W.E.B. Du Bois.

Probe: if they know about him...what do you like or do not like about his teaching?

21. Do you agree or disagree with this statement “only the Talented Tenth will help black people get a seat at the table”. Why do you agree or disagree with this statement?

22. Please share a time when you have talked with your child(ren) about their future.

Probe: How did it go? What did you want them to understand about college?

23. How would you feel if your child(ren) took an Advancement class, IB class, or a transfer class at a local community college?

24. How would you compare a 4 year degree to a technical degree?

Probe: Does a 4 year degree pay more? Do you consider a technical degree as less then?

Closing Questions

25. Describe what you think it will take for Black people to reach economic success.

Probe: Is CTE a part of success? Why or why not?

26. What do you wish you'd known about college/higher education and how it relates to a career?

27. What will you teach your child(ren) differently about getting economic success in today's workforce?

28. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your experience as a Black parent in America trying to prepare their child(ren) to be successfully economically?

Appendix F

Parent Interview Guide

History Doesn't Decided for Us: A Case Study of Black Parents and their Perception of Career and Technical Education with an In-depth Look at the Philosophies of Booker T.

Washington and W.E.B Du Bois

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| Pseudonym: _____ | Date of Interview: _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Online | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Face-to-Face | Time of Interview: _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Interview Consent Form | |

Opening Questions

1. Tell me about yourself.
 - a. Child(ren) age(s)
 - b. Personal education
 - c. Career/work history
 - d. How would you describe your education journey?
2. Please describe how often you discuss college with your child(ren).
3. What does getting a college education mean to you and your family?

Probe: who was the first person do go to college in your family?
4. Could you describe how the expectation of life after high school was described to you?

Probe: what about to your generation?
5. Share with me a time where you may have been grateful for the educational choices you made.

6. Share with me a time where you may have been disappointed with the educational choices you made.
7. What are some of your future education goals? What educational goals do you have for your children?
8. What are some of your career goals? What career goals do you have for your children?

RQ: How do parents in the 21st century view CTE as a path to economic success in the Black American community?

9. Describe what economic success looks like to you.

Sub-question: How do parents understand CTE?

10. What do you know about CTE?
11. How do you feel about CTE? Does CTE help with economic success?
12. What CTE classes is/has your child(ren) participated in?

Probe: If they have participated in CTE what was that experience like for you and/or them?

13. Describe how CTE relates to career success.
14. Based on what you know about CTE, would rather your child(ren) to get a 4 year degree versus a 2 year degree? Why? Why not?

Sub-question: What ideals of Booker T. Washington have they consciously or unconsciously used when advising their students?

15. Tell me what you know about Booker T. Washington.

Probe: if they know about him...what do you like or do not like about his teaching?

16. Do you agree or disagree with this statement “industrial education should come first so that black people can gain useful skills”. Why do you agree or disagree with this statement?
17. Do you feel like black people have made a lot of progress economically?

Probe: what will it take for us to move up economically?

18. How do you think segregation and racial turmoil has effect black people in getting ahead in education and economically?

19. How would you feel if your child(ren) took a specific career course at the local community college where they can get dual credit?

Follow-up: if child(ren) is in college how would feel about them participating in a apprenticeship program or something similar?

Sub-question: What ideals of W.E.B. Du Bois have they consciously or unconsciously used in advising their students?

20. Tell me what you know about W.E.B. Du Bois.

Probe: if they know about him...what do you like or do not like about his teaching?

21. Do you agree or disagree with this statement “only the talented tenth will help black people get a seat at the table”. Why do you agree or disagree with this statement?

22. Please share a time when you have talked with your child(ren) about their future.

Probe: How did it go? What did you want them to understand about college?

23. How would you feel if your child(ren) took an Advancement class, IB class, or a transfer class at a local community college?

24. How would you compare a 4 year degree to a technical degree?

Probe: Does a 4 year degree pay more? Do you consider a technical degree as less then?

Closing Questions

25. Describe what you think it will take for black people to reach economic success.

Probe: Is CTE a part of success? Why or why not?

26. What do you wish you’d known about college/higher education and how it relates to a career?

27. What will you teach your child(ren) differently about getting economic success in today’s workforce?

28. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your experience as a Black parent in America trying to prepare their child(ren) to be successfully economically?

Appendix G

Interview Questions Alignment with Research Questions

| Interview Question | Research Question |
|---|---|
| Describe what economic success looks like to you. | How do parents in the 21st century view CTE as a path to economic success in the Black American community? |
| What do you know about CTE? | Subquestion: How do parents understand CTE? |
| How do you feel about CTE? Does CTE help with economic success? | Subquestion: How do parents understand CTE? |
| What CTE classes is/has your child(ren) participated in? <i>Probe: If they have participated in CTE what was that experience like for you and/or them?</i> | Subquestion: How do parents understand CTE? |
| Describe how CTE relates to career success. | Subquestion: How do parents understand CTE? |
| Based on what you know about CTE, would rather your child(ren) to get a 4 year degree versus a 2 year degree? Why? Why not? | Subquestion: How do parents understand CTE? |
| Tell me what you know about Booker T. Washington. <i>Probe: if they know about him...what do you like or do not like about his teaching?</i> | Sub-question: What ideals of Booker T. Washington have they consciously or unconsciously used when advising their students? |
| Do you agree or disagree with this statement “industrial education should come first so that black people can gain useful skills”. Why do you agree or disagree with this statement? | Sub-question: What ideals of Booker T. Washington have they consciously or unconsciously used when advising their students? |
| Do you feel like black people have made a lot of progress economically? <i>Probe: what will it take for us to move up economically?</i> | Sub-question: What ideals of Booker T. Washington have they consciously or unconsciously used when advising their students? |
| How do you think segregation and racial turmoil has effect black people in getting ahead in education and economically? | Sub-question: What ideals of Booker T. Washington have they consciously or unconsciously used when advising their students? |
| How would you feel if your child(ren) took a specific career course at the local community college where they can get dual credit? <i>Follow-up: if child(ren) is in college how would feel about them participating in a apprenticeship program or something similar?</i> | Sub-question: What ideals of Booker T. Washington have they consciously or unconsciously used when advising their students? |
| Tell me what you know about W.E.B. Du Bois. <i>Probe: if they know about him...what do you like or do not like about his teaching?</i> | Sub-question: What ideals of W.E.B. Du Bois have they consciously or unconsciously used in advising their students? |
| Do you agree or disagree with this statement “only the talented tenth will help black people get a seat at the table.” Why do you agree or disagree with this statement? | Sub-question: What ideals of W.E.B. Du Bois have they consciously or unconsciously used in advising their students? |
| Please share a time when you have talked with your child(ren) about their future. <i>Probe: How did it go? What did you want them to understand about college?</i> | Sub-question: What ideals of W.E.B. Du Bois have they consciously or unconsciously used in advising their students? |

| | |
|---|---|
| How would you feel if your child(ren) took an Advancement class, IB class, or a transfer class at a local community college? | Sub-question: What ideals of W.E.B. Du Bois have they consciously or unconsciously used in advising their students? |
| How would you compare a 4 year degree to a technical degree? <i>Probe: Does a 4 year degree pay more? Do you consider a technical degree as less then?</i> | Sub-question: What ideals of W.E.B. Du Bois have they consciously or unconsciously used in advising their students? |